20c • MARCH 22, 1954

How to Prevent Depression

New Republic

Mr. Cohn and Private Schine

The Army's Story - with Comment - of How the McCarthy Committee Was Used to Gain Favors for Its Protege and What Happened When the Army Balked.

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Washington Wire T. R. B.

President Eisenhower has a big legislative program before Congress and can't seem to get anybody interested in it. He defended his tax bill Monday after Nixon replied to Adlai Stevenson on Saturday. It was a joint effort to get the program back on the tracks.

Nixon's reply to Stevenson was a little obscure, but we think we have now mastered it. It falls into two parts: Nobody can criticize the economy-size, "instant retaliation," "new look" military program because Ike is a General, isn't he, and what do we laymen know about it? Secondly, the GOP is a loving, united party and those sounds offstage are just from a man who, if allowed to go unchecked, will destroy the party. All as simple as that.

Adlai Stevenson certainly started something. We have rarely seen Ike so vexed as when he was questioned on the Stevenson speech at his press conference last week. He grew red, stamped and said he would not "demagogue" about defense. We give Ike credit for being sincere. But it seemed to us Stevenson raised vital questions—questions Nixon made no pretense of answering.

Let nobody underestimate Richard Nixon. His oratory is a bit indigestible for our stomach, like rich fruitcake, but it is effective for all that. He is a power in Washington. We would put him in the top five or six men in the Capitol. Ike seems to consider him heir apparent; for all we know he will be President some day. Cheer up, he will doubtless have matured somewhat by then.

America's survival could depend on the wisdom of the "new look." Nixon says it's fine because—see—Ike favors it. Well, what is the program? As we understand it, it's a method of saving tax money by slashing Army-Navy budgets and concentrating on air and A-bombs. This gives us the power of "instant retaliation," as Dulles put it. Or in Nixon's words: "We would rely in the future primarily on our massive mobile retaliatory power which we could use in our discretion against the major source of aggression at times and places that we choose."

Well, we may be dumb, but we still don't see how this works. The one shooting war today in the world is in Indo-China. It seems vital to the free world to hold the area. But where do we drop the A-bomb? Instead of "instant retaliation," Ike told the press last week he would never make war until Congress had given him authority to declare it. America could be blown off the map by that time. Republicans have attacked Acheson for allegedly giving China the notion we wouldn't intervene in Korea; it seems to us Ike is repeatedly giving the notion that we won't intervene in Indo-China or indeed, almost anywhere. But Nixon says we can trust him. And with a candor which even enemies would not have supposed he would employ, Nixon offers as one of the four proofs that the new policy is "working" that "our budget is approaching a balance." Yes, it's saving money all right; and we'll hit Ho Chi Minh with a balanced budget any day now.

Out of deference to the Treasury Department we won't refer to a r*c*ss*on. Last week the Associated Press average of 60 selected stocks hit a 24-year high; last week also the revised unemployment figures of the Census rose 584,000 for the month of February, or by 1,026,000 if the previous sample method is used. How can you reconcile Wall Street with reality? Well, the way we figure it, the Wall Street boys can't conceive of the GOP letting them down. To have a Republican r*c*ss*on after 20 years out of power would be political dynamite. They are absolutely sure Ike will shoot the works—tax cuts, pump-priming, inflation, the kitchen sink—before disaster. Figured that way they probably have something. Only trouble is these contractions sometimes won't stop once started. The only instance this column can recall of a successful "rolling readjustment" was the Gadarene swine.

Sen. William Fulbright (D, Ark.) quietly announces he will give no more information to the FBI. He has refused to tell them about a Little Rock businessman. He says he is convinced the FBI gives McCarthy "any information he wants." He says he thinks the FBI is being used for political purposes. This gloomy verdict has been growing in Washington. Nothing more frightening could be imagined. But Attorney General Brownell committed the unforgivable sin of offering unevaluated confidential FBI data in the Harry Dexter White case. J. Edgar Hoover promptly took the stand in what seemed to many a political case. Recently Sen. Everett Dirksen (R, Ill.) blurted out to interviewers on a radio broadcast that McCarthy generally had an FBI file at his elbow in interrogating witnesses. And just last week indignant Democrats on the McCarthy committee denounced Counsel Roy Cohn for saying he had "corroborating evidence" against witness Mrs. Annie Lee Moss but "couldn't produce it." How dare he say such a thing, exploded Senators Symington, Jackson and McClellan. In all the dangers of McCarthyism to the Republic this column solemnly believes the greatest threat is the belief, or mere suspicion, that the unevaluated FBI files are not inviolable, but are being used as an ammunition dump for political warfare.

So now we come to McCarthy. Events surge past—the tide may have turned. Adlai Stevenson's frontal attack, the spine-tingling Murrow TV show, Eisenhower's growing courage, the growing manic recklessness of McCarthy, his breach with Taft leaders Dirksen and Mundt, the devastating Army report on Private Schine and hints of others news to come in that triangular relationship—these crowd the pages. But let's not forget certain fundamentals in all this: it was Ike who coddled McCarthy until McCarthy turned on Ike; 46 percent of the Gallup Poll voters still approve McCarthy compared to only 36 percent who disapprove, and only one month ago McCarthy was the authorized GOP darling in his "Twenty Years of Treason" crusade. Welcome to the sinners' bench, Eisenhower supporters, but oh, how much more edifying it would have been if you had hit McCarthy before he hit you!

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Cheerleader, Press Agent, Uplifter

HENRY MENCKEN wrote in 1922, "The typical American of today has lost all the love of liberty that his forefathers had and all their distrust of emotion and pride in self-reliance. He is led no longer by Davy Crocketts; he is led by cheerleaders, press agents, word mongers, uplifters." There seemed some justification for this gloomy prophecy on Saturday night.

First there were the little intimacies, the "get acquainted" paragraphs. The Vice President told us why he was speaking from notes ("when I feel very strongly I speak a little more effectively" . . .) and why this time no one, not even Pat, was with him in the studio ("I want to talk to you just as if you were sitting across the desk from me"). The listener had the uncomfortable feeling that the Vice President would pursue him out of the parlor, up the stairs and into the bathroom if he tried to escape.

Next there was the definition of what the chat would be about. Stevenson had made a "rip roaring political tirade." The Vice President would let his listener in on "the facts."

First "the facts" on military policy—the policy of Truman and Acheson had lost 600 million people to the Reds without killing a Russian. And folks:

"Isn't it wonderful that finally we have a Secretary of State who isn't taken in by the Communists, who stands up to them?"

The old look was the Acheson-Truman look. So, of course, there is a new look. We're preparing to fight one big atomic war instead of lots of little, conventional wars. (Here the Vice President endorsed Secretary Dulles' assurance of "instant retaliation." But more recently the President has said that it wouldn't be "instant"; Admiral Radford has said that it wouldn't be based on "one weapon"; Admiral Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, has explained that the new look isn't new at all, and Secretary of the Navy Anderson has added that the present policy "is simply a gradual and orderly shift in emphasis" from the policy Mr. Nixon decries.)

Stevenson had asked why the new policy had been adopted without debate. Nixon in turn had some searching questions to demand of Stevenson:

"Does he think the Korean War should not have been stopped?

"Does he think the two divisions brought home . . . should be sent back to Korea? . . .

"Does he favor having more Korean type wars all over the world?"

Next the Vice President gave "the facts" to answer Stevenson's charge that the Republicans were deceiving the nation with "the numbers game": Stevenson had noted that 2,400 public servants severed from government were subsequently branded "subversives" by Administration spokesmen and that since then the only consistent thing in the Administration's assertions was the lack of hard facts. Not so, said Nixon in reply. The hard facts were that 422 had files *"containing information indicating subversive activities or associations"* while 1,424 had files "showed information indicating untrustworthiness, drunkenness, mental instability or possible exposure to blackmail."

"In addition," said Nixon, to polish Stevenson off, "the President and this Administration recognizes the right and the responsibility of Congressional committees to investigate in this field."

So Nixon came to Stevenson's charge that the Administraiton had condoned the onslaught on civil liberty and decency known as McCarthyism. Communists, he held, are "a bunch of rats." But fair procedures are necessary by which he meant shooting straight at them "because when you shoot wildly . . . you make it easier on the rat." . . . "So," said the Vice President, "we've got to be fair."

How fair were McCarthy's charges that the Army is led by blackmailers, liars and Communist coddlers? The Vice President didn't mention the Senator's name, but he did say that men whose motives were fine, and who had done "effective work" were engaging in "questionable methods" now. Their "reckless talk" was bad, not because it split the American nation and violated the American tradition but because it helped "the rats" and made it easier for the Democrats who want to defeat Eisenhower.

Stevenson had criticized the President for not speaking out against McCarthy. Well, said the Vice President:

"It's true that President Eisenhower does not engage in personal vituperation and vulgar name calling and promiscuous letter writing. . . ."

"He leads by example," said Nixon and we must all have faith in him and follow him because whatever he does he does for the good of America.

(Was it for the good of

SENATE LEADERSHIP
ANIMALS WILL KINDLY FOLLOW THEIR OWN RULES OF PROCEDURE
INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ABUSES
HERBLOCK
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Fair is fair

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America that Eisenhower went into Wisconsin to endorse McCarthy in 1952, and sent him out, as the spokesman of the Republican Party to call the Democratic Party a party of treason in February? President Hindenburg set an example of soldierly dignity in Germany from 1928 to 1932; constructive criticism and reasoned support, not blind faith, is surely the President's need today.)

Stevenson asked: "Will the Republican National Committee continue to use Senator McCarthy as a party spokesman?" The answer apparently lies with McCarthy and with the voters because the President will not willingly make the break. McCarthy went too far, says Nixon, in attacking the integrity of Eisenhower's own lieutenants. But if he will go back to attacking Communists and Democrats, the way is still open for the team of Ike and Joe.

Peanuts—Popcorn—Bonds

IN 1934, after state regulation of the securities and utilities industries was proven ineffectual by decades of fraud, the Federal Securities and Exchange Commission was established to protect the investment public. Since taking office last year, the Republican Administration has been chipping away at the Commission's jurisdiction and at the law it implements.

Of the five SEC Commissioners, three are Eisenhower appointees. All three are closely connected with and share the viewpoint of the interests they are to control. And as soon as they were settled, they began promising a "change." They invited amendments to the SEC Act, promising full co-operation to any Congressmen who come forward, and, after a closed session with investment bankers and stock exchange leaders, they announced that a number of changes would be offered to Congress early this year.

The SEC Act and the procedures of the Commission can, of course, be improved. But typical of the agreements reached at the closed session is a proposal to exempt from registration securities issues of $500,000 or less. The present limit is $300,000.

In many parts of the country, issues of $450,000 represent substantial undertakings. Many mining ventures, for example, do not involve more than $500,000. Yet few ventures hold more danger for the unprotected investor. Similarly, if full disclosure and registration is not required, there is often more risk in buying into a $450,000 securities issue by a small, and possibly shaky, firm than into a $450 million issue by a giant corporation.

By processing fewer registrations, the SEC can operate at lower cost. By chanting "economy," the Administration may be able to convince the taxpayer that he is being saved some money —until he loses his savings by buying securities which could not have been issued under the old regulations.

Needed Ruling

THE PROBLEM of equalizing access of Democrats and Republicans to radio and television, discussed in the *New Republic* editorial "Free Competition of Opposing Views," February 22, 1954, is more and more in the news as elections near.

Senator McCarthy demands that the Federal Communications Act be revised to provide any individual criticized on a free broadcast with free time to reply. Sen. J. W. Fulbright insists that when the President addresses the nation on a controversial issue—like the tax program —the opposition should be given free time for rebuttal. It is clear that the rules governing such matters undoubtedly will soon have to be clarified, if not revised.

Some clarification may result from a complaint filed with the Federal Communications Commission by Paul Ziffren, Democratic National Committeeman for California. When a Los Angeles, American Broadcasting Company station began carrying "Washington Calling," a partisan program paid for by Republican Associates, Ziffren requested equal time to present the Democratic point of view. The request in effect was a challenge to the station and the network to abide by the National Association of Broadcasters Code of 1939 which recommends that time should not be *sold* for the discussion of controversial issues, otherwise "a powerful public forum would inevitably gravitate almost wholly into the hands of those with the greater means to buy it." Ziffren's request was ignored. After he threatened to file a formal complaint with the FCC, however, the program was discontinued. But Ziffren's complaint raises the claim that the Democratic Party has a right to *free* time equal to that *sold* to Republican Associates—that access to radio and television should not depend upon ability to buy time. A ruling on this point, if one is made, would in itself provide considerable clarification.

The possibility that one may be forced has the networks debating new forms of "self-regulation."

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EDITOR, Michael Straight
PUBLISHER: Gilbert A. Harrison
MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller
BUSINESS MANAGER: Allan E. Aird
STAFF WRITERS: Tom Fitzsimmons, Arnold J. Heidenheimer (on leave with the Armed Services)
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Bruce Bliven; Eric Bentley, Drama Critic; Malcolm Cowley; Robert Evett, Music Critic; Robert Richman
CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Dudley Fitts, Joseph Frank, Kimon Friar, Gerald W. Johnson, V. O. Key Jr., Max Lerner, Richard Lester, Arthur Mizener, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, Stephen Spender, Allen Tate

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Mr. Cohn and Private Schine

Why McCarthy Smeared the Army: Excerpts from the Army Report

FOUR HUNDRED and thirty thousand young Americans were called into military service in 1953. Four hundred and twenty nine thousand nine hundred and ninety nine accepted this established duty of citizenship and readily adapted themselves to military life.

The exception was G. David Schine, Chief Consultant to Sen. Joseph McCarthy's Investigations Subcommittee and close friend of McCarthy's "indispensable" counsel, Roy Cohn. What happened as the result of Schine's induction is told by the Army in its report of March 11.

Mid-July 1953

Maj. Gen. Miles Reber, then chief of the Army Legislative Liaison, received a phone call stating that Senator McCarthy desired to see him.

He went to the Senator's office and Senator McCarthy there informed General Reber that he was very interested in securing a direct commission for Mr. G. David Schine, a consultant to the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. . . .

Senator McCarthy said that speed was desirable since Mr. Schine might be inducted into the Armed Forces under the Selective Service Act.

During the meeting Mr. Roy Cohn, chief counsel of the subcommittee, came in the room and emphasized the necessity for rapid action.

15 July 1953

Mr. Schine called the Office of the Chief of Legislative Liaison (OCLL), Department of the Army, on the telephone and asked whether he could come to the Pentagon that afternoon and "hold up his hand." He was advised that it would be necessary to submit an application for a commission. . . .

15-30 July 1953

Mr. Schine's application for a commission was considered by the Chief of Transportation, the Provost Marshal General and the Commanding General of the First Army.

All three determined that Mr. Schine was not qualified for a direct commission.

1 August 1953

Mr. Cohn requested OCLL to explore the possibility of obtaining a reserve commission for Mr. Schine in either the Air Force or the Navy. These explorations were undertaken with negative results.

2 October 1953

Mr. Cohn and Francis Carr, executive director of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee, conferred with Secretary Stevens for approximately 35 minutes.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss in some detail plans for the Fort Monmouth investigation.

During the course of such discussions Mr. Cohn asked the Secretary about an assignment in the New York City area for Mr. Schine when inducted. Mr. Cohn stated that it was desirable to have Mr. Schine available for consultation to the staff of the committee to complete certain work with which Mr. Schine was familiar and that the Army must have several places in the New York City area where Mr. Schine could perform Army work.

The Secretary did not agree with this suggestion and pointed out that Mr. Schine should follow the same procedures for assignment as any other private in the Army.

14-17 October 1953

At some point during this period, Mr. Cohn requested Secretary Stevens to assign Mr. Schine to temporary duty in New York after his induction for the purpose of completing committee work. Secretary Stevens suggested that 15 days of temporary duty might be arranged between induction and training for the completion of committee work. . . .

October 18-November 3, 1953

During this two-week period, Mr. Cohn and Mr. Adams (Counsel to the Army) spoke in person or on the telephone almost every day concerning an assignment for Private Schine to the New York City area.

On these occasions, Mr. Adams suggested to Mr. Cohn that the Army had an obligation to 300,000 other men being drafted every year and that Mr. Schine wasn't the only college graduate to serve as a private.

It was on these occasions that Mr. Adams first stated that the national interest required that no preferential treatment be given to Schine. . . .

Mr. Cohn replied that if national interest was what the Army wanted he'd give it a little and then proceeded to outline how he would expose the Army in its worst light and show the country how shabbily it is being run.

At this moment, perhaps, the pattern formed which led to McCarthy's punitive investigation of the Army. On December 3, 1953, one month after Cohn's alleged threat "to expose the Army in its worst light" the McCarthy Committee undertook its investigation into the case of Dr. Irving Peress.

In November, however, the Army's response was to give in, under pressure from McCarthy's counsel. Secretary Stevens himself signed orders granting special privileges for Private Schine.

The purpose of these privileges, according to Stevens and to Cohn, was to permit Schine to finish the report issued over McCarthy's name on the overseas information program. Here, four points may be noted:

Three and a half months elapsed between the time the Committee first intervened to influence Schine's induction into military service and the induction itself;

Two more weeks were granted in which the report was to be completed;

The report itself was largely a summary of hearings completed in June and ran to a total of 13 small pages of quotations and text;

McCarthy himself conceded that Schine needed a new assignment to justify his retention in the New York area, and even made the incredible proposal that the Army assign Schine, as a private, to investigate subversive influences at West Point.

6 November 1953

At the invitation of the Secretary of the Army, a luncheon, attended by the Secretary, Mr. Adams, Senator McCarthy,

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Francis Carr and Mr. Cohn, was held in the Pentagon. The principal subject of discussion at the luncheon was the Fort Monmouth investigation. During the course of the luncheon, however, Mr. Cohn asked when the Army would be able to arrange for a New York City assignment for Private Schine.

Senator McCarthy also stated that he was interested in Private Schine's receiving a New York City assignment and suggested that Mr. Schine might be sent to New York with the assignment of studying and reporting to the Secretary on evidence of pro-Communist leanings in West Point textbooks.

Mr. Cohn also requested that Private Schine be made available for committee work while he was undergoing basic training at Fort Dix. . . .

Normally soldiers in their first four weeks of basic training at Fort Dix are not permitted to leave the post in the evening nor are they given weekend passes. This rule is a local one, and is subject to modification. . . .

The statement of Secretary Stevens, therefore, authorized Private Schine to be given passes if needed for committee business on the first four weekends when he might otherwise have been restricted and to be available to meet with the committee staff in evenings on post, if the committee needed Private Schine for committee business.

So Private Schine was given five special passes in 20 days. They were granted, Cohn asserts, to complete the information program report. According to Time:

"Under the pretext of having work to do for McCarthy, Private Schine got extra . . . passes. . . . Reports reached the Army that Schine's "investigating" work was often conducted at his penthouse apartment in New York's Waldorf Towers, and at such niteries as the Stork Club and "21."

10 November 1953

Private Schine was transported to the Reception Center at Fort Dix.

11 November 1953

Mr. Francis Carr and Mr. Cohn visited General Ryan, Commander of Fort Dix, and requested to see Private Schine at the reception station. Private Schine was made available.

12 November 1953

Some member of the subcommittee staff telephoned Fort Dix and requested that Private Schine be given a pass over the weekend. The pass was issued.

17 November 1953

Secretary Stevens and Mr. Adams lunched with Senator McCarthy in New York. The Secretary, en route back to Washington, gave Senator McCarthy and members of the committee staff a ride in his plane to Maguire Air Force Base, which adjoins Fort Dix, N. J. Private Schine was given a pass that evening to see Senator McCarthy and members of the committee staff.

18 November 1953

Mr. Thomas La Venia of the committee staff telephoned Fort Dix and requested that Private Schine be given a pass until his formal basic training started on 23 November. . . .

19 November 1953

Private Schine was given a pass commencing at 16:15 hours Thursday, 19 until 2400 hours Sunday, 22 November. . . .

23 November 1953

Private Schine commenced eight weeks basic training cycle. . . .

25 November 1953

Private Schine was given a pass from the end of duty hours on Wednesday until 2300 hours Thursday, 26 November. . . .

28 November 1953

Private Schine was given a pass from the end of duty hours on Saturday until 2400 hours Sunday, 29 November.

6 December 1953

General Ryan telephoned Mr. Adams from Fort Dix and stated that the matter of handling Private Schine was becoming increasingly difficult since the soldier was leaving the post nearly every night. General Ryan stated that Private Schine had been returning regularly to the post very late at night. General Ryan then stated that unless the Secretary objected he intended immediately to terminate Private Schine's passes on week nights.

Mr. Adams stated that General Ryan was authorized on behalf of the Secretary to advise all members of the committee staff that Private Schine could not leave the post on evenings thereafter. . . .

From then on demands for special privileges for Private Schine were interwoven into every phase of the McCarthy Subcommittee's investigation of the Army.

9 December 1953

Just before the hearing opened in the morning, Mr. Cohn spoke to Mr. Adams concerning the Army's prospective assignment of Private Schine. Mr. Adams stated that Private Schine was going to be handled the same as any other private soldier. Mr. Cohn broke off this conversation in the middle, turning his back on Mr. Adams in the Senate caucus room.

At about 12:30 p.m., at the conclusion of the morning hearing, Mr. Adams followed Senator McCarthy to his office and conferred with him concerning the inquiries of Mr. Cohn about Private Schine.

As a result of Mr. Adams' request, Senator McCarthy told Mr. Adams that he would write the Secretary of the Army a letter in which he would state that the committee had no further interest in Private Schine and that he hoped that Private Schine would be treated the same as other soldiers.

Senator McCarthy also said he would ask the committee staff to observe the same rule. . . .

Mr. Adams returned to the Pentagon and in the middle of the afternoon received a telephone call from Mr. Cohn. Mr. Cohn stated to Mr. Adams that he would teach Mr. Adams what it meant to go over his head.

10 December 1953

The Washington hearings for that week concluded at noon on Thursday. At Senator McCarthy's request, Secretary Stevens and Mr. Adams lunched with Senator McCarthy and Mr. Francis Carr at the Carroll Arms. According to Mr. Carr, Mr. Cohn was too upset to attend the lunch because of the Private Schine situation. . . .

At this luncheon there were extensive discussions led by Senator McCarthy as to the possibilities of an immediate New York assignment for Private Schine. . . .

11 December 1953

On this day Private Schine was informed that thereafter training would be expanded to include Saturday morning.

During the afternoon, Mr. Adams had extensive long-distance conversations with Mr. Cohn from New York, all of them initiated by Mr. Cohn, and one of which lasted nearly an hour. During these conversations, Mr. Cohn, using extremely vituperative language, told Mr. Adams that the Army had again "double-crossed" Mr. Cohn, Private Schine and Senator McCarthy.

The first double-cross, according to Mr. Cohn, was when the Army had not given a commission to Schine after promising one to him; the second double-cross, according to Mr. Cohn, was that the Army had not assigned Private Schine immediately to New York; and another was that the Army cancelled Private Schine's availability during week nights. The re-

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quirement that Private Schine perform duties on Saturday mornings was a new double-cross.

12-13 December 1953

Private Schine was given a pass for the week-end.

17 December 1953

On the morning of 17 December, Senator McCarthy spoke to Mr. Adams at 10:30 a.m. at the entrance to the US Court House in New York. He stated to Mr. Adams that he had attempted on the previous evening to telephone him. He stated that he had learned of the extent of his staff's interference with the Army with reference to Schine, and that he wished to advise Adams thereafter to see that nothing was done on the committee's behalf with reference to Schine.

After the hearings, Senator McCarthy, Mr. Cohn, Mr. Francis Carr and Mr. Adams were present together. Mr. Adams, in order to have Senator McCarthy state his views in front of Messrs. Carr and Cohn, suggested discussing the Private Schine situation.

Mr. Cohn was vituperative in his language. During this discussion, Senator McCarthy remained silent.

The party rode uptown in Mr. Cohn's car and Mr. Cohn continued his statement. Twice during the ride uptown and as Mr. Adams was getting out of the car, Senator McCarthy asked Mr. Adams to ask Secretary Stevens if the Secretary could find a way to assign Private Schine to New York.

31 December 1953

On 31 December Mr. Adams called Mr. Cohn on the telephone and told him about the probable assignment for Private Schine. Mr. Adams explained that according to his understanding, Private Schine would have eight weeks at Camp Gordon Provost Marshal School after which Private Schine would be eligible for reassignment. Mr. Cohn repeatedly asked if the reassignment would be to New York. . . .

9 January 1954

Mr. Adams was at Amherst, Mass., filling a speaking engagement at Amherst College. In the middle of the afternoon Mr. Adams received a long-distance call from Mr. Francis Carr, who said he had been trying to reach him since the previous evening. Mr. Carr stated that Mr. Cohn had been trying to reach Mr. Adams from New York and that the purpose of Mr. Cohn's call was to have Mr. Adams intervene with the commanding general at Fort Dix because Private Schine was scheduled for KP duty on the following day, a Sunday.

9-10 January 1954

Private Schine was allowed to go on pass until Sunday afternoon when he was required to return to Fort Dix.

11 January 1954

On or about this date, Mr. Cohn called Mr. Adams and asked extensive questions with reference to Camp Gordon, Ga., and the exact number of days Private Schine would be required to serve there.

Mr. Cohn also desired to know if it were necessary for Private Schine to live on the post; if Private Schine could have his car on the post; and the name of the person at Camp Gordon that could serve as the contact between Mr. Cohn and Camp Gordon for the purpose of relieving Private Schine of duty when necessary.

Mr. Cohn stated that the committee would need Private Schine regularly for committee duties. Mr. Adams stated that Private Schine would be treated the same as any other private.

After this conversation with Mr. Cohn, Mr. Adams telephoned the Provost Marshal General, General Maglin, to ascertain exactly what type of school was being operated at Camp Gordon and exactly what was in store for Private Schine.

General Maglin told Mr. Adams . . . that if Private Schine qualified for duty in the CID school, it would be necessary for him to remain . . . nearly five months at Camp Gordon.

Mr. Adams immediately telephoned Mr. Cohn and advised him of this development. During the midst of the conversation Mr. Cohn hung up on the telephone after telling Mr. Adams he would not stand for any more Army double-crosses.

Thus, six months after Schine was notified of his draft, Cohn was intervening on Schine's behalf on the pretext that he was needed for Committee work. When Cohn learned instead that soldiers in Schine's classification customarily served overseas, he again threatened punitive action according to the Army report.

13-14 January 1954

A day or so after the conversation with Mr. Cohn, Mr. Adams went to the Capitol and called on Mr. Cohn and Mr. Carr.

General discussion was had concerning the Private Schine situation *and* the progress of the McCarthy committee investigation at Fort Monmouth. Knowing that 90 percent of all inductees get overseas duty and that there were nine chances out of ten that Private Schine would be facing overseas duty when he concluded his tour at Camp Gordon, Mr. Adams informed Mr. Cohn of this situation.

Mr. Cohn upon hearing this said this would "wreck the Army" and cause Mr. Stevens to be "through as Secretary of the Army." . . .

13-14 January 1954

. . . Secretary Stevens explained to Senator McCarthy the type of duty which was scheduled for Private Schine at Camp Gordon and the length of time that he would be there. On about four or five occasions Senator McCarthy brought up the question of an assignment of Private Schine to the New York City area. . . .

18 January 1954

At about 4 p.m. on the afternoon of Monday, the day following the departure of Secretary Stevens for Korea, Mr. Francis Carr telephoned Mr. Adams and discussed various subjects with him. During the course of the conversation the question of Private Schine came up.

Mr. Adams told Mr. Carr in detail the length of time that Private Schine would be required to spend at Camp Gordon. Mr. Carr stated that he had an incoming call from Mr. Cohn, who was in Florida on vacation, and would inform Mr. Cohn of these developments at once.

About 10 minutes after the conclusion of the Carr telephone call, Mr. Adams received a long-distance call from Mr. Cohn from Boca Raton, Fla. Mr. Cohn reported he had just heard about Mr. Adams' talk with Mr. Carr. He requested verification and when Mr. Adams repeated what he had told Mr. Carr, Mr. Cohn ended the conversation.

But presumably Mr. Cohn held other conversations that day. The next morning, the McCarthy Subcommittee sprung its trap for the Army. The action it chose was to strike at one of the most sensitive and confidential branches of the Army, its Loyalty-Security Appeals Board. That the hearings were based on Cohn's desire for revenge, rather than any prepared staff report or subcommittee project, is indicated by McCarthy's claim that he wished to interrogate board members about "various widespread allegations."

19 January 1954

On Tuesday morning, Mr. Carr telephoned Mr. Adams and advised that the committee desired to interrogate a number of members of the Army's Loyalty-Security Appeals Board. Mr. Adams reminded him of prior understandings that such members would not be called. Mr. Carr made no direct reply and stated that Mr. Cohn had terminated his vacation in Florida and returned.

The individuals named were asked to appear at 2:00 p.m. . . . before the one-man subcommittee headed by Senator McCarthy. Also present were Mr. Cohn, Mr.

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Carr and the official committee reporter. . . .

Senator McCarthy went on the record only at one time to state that he was not requesting these people to come up for the purpose of interrogating them about their participation in the Loyalty-Security Program alone, but that he wished to interrogate them about various widespread allegations he had received concerning fraud and corruption and personal misconduct in their official actions.

22 January 1954

On Friday evening, at Senator McCarthy's request, Mr. Adams went to the Senator's apartment. The visit lasted from about 8:30 p.m. until about 11:15.

The principal topics discussed were: (1) Senator McCarthy's request that members of the Army Loyalty-Security Appeals Board be made available for interrogation by the committee and (2) the possibility of an immediate assignment to New York City for Private G. David Schine.

On many occasions during the evening, Senator McCarthy said he did not see why it would not be possible for the Army to give Private Schine some assignment in New York and to forget about the whole matter; on at least three occasions he attempted to obtain such a commitment from Mr. Adams.

Senator McCarthy pointed out that the Army was walking into a long-range fight with Mr. Cohn and that even if Mr. Cohn resigned or was fired from the committee staff, he would carry on his campaign against the Army thereafter from outside Washington.

Senator McCarthy suggested that Mr. Cohn through the medium of connections with various newspaper elements would begin getting published articles alleging favoritism on the part of the Army in numerous other cases.

On one or two occasions during the evening Senator McCarthy referred to what he called the "original agreement" with respect to Private Schine. Mr. Adams replied that he knew nothing about an original agreement.

On one occasion during the evening reference was made to the New York meeting of 17 December 1953. Senator McCarthy stated that he would not have blamed Mr. Adams that day, in view of the abuse from Mr. Cohn, if Mr. Adams had walked out and refused ever to speak to Mr. Cohn again. . . .

On either 4 or 5 February, Mr. Adams discussed with Mr. Carr on the telephone the Army's relationship with Senator McCarthy and the committee staff. Mr. Carr stated that Senator McCarthy was angry over the circumstances of the release from active duty of Major Peress and the situation had reached the point where the Senator was no longer willing to discuss matters either with the Secretary or with Mr. Adams.

16 February 1954

Mr. Carr telephoned Mr. Adams and requested the Army to produce as witnesses before an open hearing of the committee in New York City on Thursday morning, 18 February, the commanding general of Camp Kilmer, the G-2 officer (Brig. Gen. Ralph Zwicker) at Camp Kilmer and the acting G-2 officer of the First Army.

Mr. Adams voiced the Army's concern over this development and compared it to the Fort Monmouth situation where the committee had called in general officers of the Signal Corps and had caused public uncertainty with respect of the Army security procedures.

Mr. Carr stated that if the Army would be reasonable, probably the committee would be reasonable. Mr. Adams inquired how Mr. Carr thought that the Army should be "reasonable' and Mr. Carr answered rather facetiously, that if the Army would only do all that had been requested of it, the Army's problems would be at an end.

On February 18, McCarthy summoned General Zwicker and called him "unfit to wear the uniform of the United States." When Secretary Stevens balked at this treatment of Army officers, McCarthy increased his pressure by charging that he had uncovered a Communist spy in the Army's code room. The "spy" proved to be an aging Negro, Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, then under examination in executive sessions of the House Un-American Activities Committee held to determine the truth or falsity of charges against her. Raiding this committee, Cohn and McCarthy called Mrs. Moss in open hearings and accused her of subversion even before she was heard. McCarthy told Mrs. Moss before she took the stand that he had evidence of her Communist Party membership and threatened that he would cite her for contempt if she denied his charge.

On March 11 the Army report was published. McCarthy replied that the Army was lying and was engaged in blackmail to prevent him from uncovering Communists. He released memoranda from his files charging that the Army had deliberately treated Schine as "a hostage;" that Secretary Stevens and Army Counsel Adams had offered to provide "dirt" on the Air Force and Navy if McCarthy would investigate them instead and that Adams, a former official of the Republican National Committee, had attempted to bargain with Cohn for a $25,000 a year law practice in New York. Cohn added "no improper influence was ever exerted by me or anybody else to my knowledge on behalf of Schine" and "no such threat or threats as reported . . . was ever made . . . Nobody ever said we would wreck the Army or Mr. Stevens."

Twice in the course of these developments McCarthy was caught in untruths:

On March 9 McCarthy met with Senator Potter. He gave reporters "absolute assurance that Cohn was not discussed." Potter affirmed that Cohn was discussed in detail.

On March 11 McCarthy stated that he had never accused the Army of coddling Communists: "No one" he said, "made any such claims." But McCarthy's own statement of February 21 referred to 'the Army's attempt to coddle and promote Communists."

In the light of these facts, the American people will want to know:

Why was special privilege granted to Schine? Did he in fact do committee work on his leaves?

Did Senator McCarthy intervene only once on Schine's behalf as he implies, or did he intervene at least one dozen times as the Army affirms?

What did Cohn threaten when he "proceeded to outline how he would expose the Army in its worst light?"

What financial connections, if any, exist between the Schine family and Cohn's law firm or Cohn himself?

Did Stevens and Adams offer to help "get" the Navy and Air Force, or are McCarthy and Cohn lying?

When were the memoranda released by McCarthy written, typed and placed in the files?

Many of the answers to these questions may never be given. Many concern telephone conversations, or conferences where only Adams represented the Army. Against the word of Adams it can be anticipated that McCarthy, Cohn, Francis Carr and other committee members will produce identical testimony in support of each other. Nor will the secretaries talk if McCarthy has his way. That much is indicated by the oath of loyalty to Cohn, distributed among the staff of the McCarthy Subcommittee and dutifully signed. If the oath prevails over the truth, then Adams may well be framed.

Cohn and McCarthy, of course, are entitled to the fair investigation that they have denied other citizens. Nor will those who uphold fair procedure conclude now that the guilt is all on one side. They will insist that the investigation is full as well as fair, that it is held in the open and that all witnesses are sworn. They will further insist that it is led by a new and independent Counsel and a staff, adequate to pursue to the end all conflicting charges, as well as the tortuous course of Cohn's relations with Schine and with the Pentagon.

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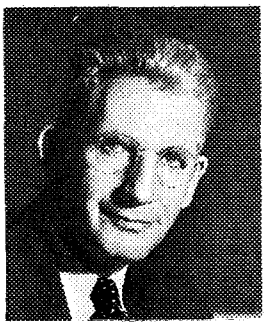
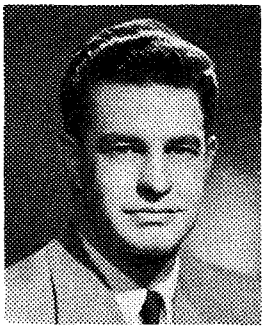


Congress and the Administration have a constructive responsibility to take a wide-awake look at the state of our Economy.

The time to look is before it is too late. And a wide-awake look means a full recognition of the facts as we find them. Our minority statement was intended to fulfill this responsibility.

It is because we believe deeply in the hardiness and good sense of the American people and American business generally that we have stated the facts as we found them, without any garnishment or glossing over of the situation in order to delude ourselves and others that it is pleasant, when, in fact, it isn't.

Paul H. Douglas Richard Bolling



Action to Prevent Depression

THE EMPLOYMENT ACT of 1946 endorsed the principle that every citizen has the right to a chance to earn a living. It stressed the "responsibility of the federal government to . . . promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power." It required the President to submit annually a report on the economic state of the nation together with his economic program. And it established a Joint (House and Senate) Committee to review and comment upon the President's proposals.

Accordingly, on January 28, President Eisenhower presented his report. The President was optimistic. He did note a "readjustment"; to offset it, he proposed these measures: a higher public debt limit, broadened social security, limited strengthening of the unemployment compensation system, substitution of flexible for rigid agricultural supports, liberalization of foreign trade, some public housing, tentative planning for public works, and tax revisions primarily designed to stimulate production and investment.

Word that the Administration was considering these measures was expected to halt the economy's downward drift. Instead, in February the drift continued. Anxious reporters queried the President on further steps to check growing unemployment in his press conference of February 18.

Joseph A. Slevin of the *Journal of Commerce*—Mr. President, do you think the economic downturn has reached a point where consumers should get larger tax concessions than your program called for?

Answer—Well, he couldn't give an answer, an affirmative answer, to that one at this moment.

As they knew, in the Economic Report, it stated that that was a measure to bring in very quickly when you saw this thing spreading very definitely.

He would think that March ought to be sort of the key month. March was a month when, he was told, that employment began normally to pick up, and you had a definite upturn in the curve.

Now, if that weren't true, he would say then we would have a very definite warning that would call for the institution of a number of measures. Possibly this tax reduction would be one of the first considered, although he couldn't say for certain.

A majority of the Joint Committee indicated only a few reservations in approving the President's program to ward off depression. A minority of six Democrats—three Senators and three Congressmen—criticized it in general terms.

Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) and Rep. Richard Bolling (D, Mo.) filed a detailed criticism and substitute proposals.

March is almost over; unemployment is rising still. Congress is considering the President's new proposals for tax cuts. Are further measures required? The proposals of Senator Douglas and Representative Bolling take on increased significance in this discussion. Excerpts from their statement are printed here:

TO BEGIN with we should like to call attention to the following lines of the Economic Report:

> Under the circumstances, governmental policies must either be flexible, adjusting to new and unforeseen developments, *or run the peril of courting disaster.* But flexible policies, *adapted with promptness and vigor,* require *courage and candor* on the part of government officials. [Emphasis added.]

There seems to be almost an utter lack of "courage and candor on the part of government officials" which the report itself correctly advances as the necessary foundation for any economic program. On the contrary, "glossing over" economic facts prevails.

The lack of candor and courage in the Economic Report which the President's advisers have furnished him has led to three fundamental defects:

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1. A failure to analyze correctly the facts of the rapid recession in economic activity during 1953 as they were.

2. The prevalence of a pollyannaish "prosperity is just around the corner" attitude, which largely ignores present difficulties and talks about some remote long-run economic paradise; and

3. A failure to propose a bold program for dealing with immediate, pressing problems.

The present state of affairs, it seems to us, does not at all warrant the use of optimistic or soft-pedal terms which are sowed throughout the Economic Report:

> The minor contraction of recent months . . . readjustment . . . some contraction . . . imbalance between production and sales . . . curtailing operations, . . . contraction . . . inventory adjustment . . . structural readjustment . . . settling economic activity . . . readjustment . . . slight decrease of production . . . readjustment process . . . reducing excessive inventories, and moderate contraction.

We cite this brief glossary of glossovers because we feel that the "courage and candor" called for in the Economic Report of the President has not shown up in that document itself. Nowhere in the document do we find a bold analysis of the facts cited in the Report and a courageous admission that as of January 28, 1954, the date of transmittal to the Congress, the nation's economy *was in a recession.*

The latest data now available amply confirm this conclusion which the President's advisers should have reached in January. For example:

General index of production (Federal Reserve).—In July, 1953, it stood at 137; in January, 1954, at 125.

Automobiles.—Detroit and Toledo are classified as distress areas. Unemployment in Detroit alone numbered 107,000 in January. Sales in January, 1954, declined about 12 percent from January, 1953. Production is now about 128,000 per week compared to 146,188 per week in February, 1953.

Farm equipment.—Production is down 29 percent between January, 1953, and January, 1954.

Heavy construction.—Value of engineering contract awards was down 59.4 percent in January, 1954, from a year earlier.

Steel.—Production is down to 1.8 million tons per week from 2.2 million tons in February, 1953, or from 99 percent of capacity in February, 1953, to 74.4 percent now.

Textiles.—Production is down 20 percent from peak of May, 1953.

Farm prices.—1953 monthly average of prices received by farmers is down over 10 percent below 1952 monthly average.

Mail-order sales.—Over 13 percent below a year ago.

Freight-car loadings.—Down 11 percent from a year ago.

Business failures.—The weekly number has risen almost 50 percent during the past 12 months, while liabilities of failures have almost doubled.

Inventories—Business inventories are down $1 billion between the end of September, 1953, and the end of December, 1953.

Unemployment.—Between October, 1953, and January, 1954, unemployment rose by 1.2 million—an increase of 100 percent in only three months. Under the new census method, unemployment amounted to 3.1 million in January and there are indications that it is still rising.

Temporay layoffs. — Census figures are 275,000. These men are to all practical purposes unemployed. If they were to return uninvited to the factory gates the work would not be available.

Part-time workers.—The Bureau of the Census estimates that 5.2 million persons, or 10 percent of nonagricultural employment, worked less than 30 hours per week, as follows:

(a) Less than 15 hours per week	1.9 millions.
(b) 15 to 21 hours per week	1.7 millions.
(c) 22 to 29 hours per week	1.6 millions.

If we include agriculture, about 1.5 million were working part time involuntarily.

In sum, nearly five million persons, or between seven and eight percent of the total labor force, are either jobless, laid off or involuntarily working only part time.

IF WE haven't on our hands a recession, what is it? Certainly not a depression. No Democrat has ever said that. Certainly not revival, nor prosperity as millions of workers, farmers, automobile dealers, builders, railroad men and small-business men know well. Conservative business economists, appearing before this committee during our hearings, plainly thought we are in some kind of a recession. Our position is that we cannot Coué ourselves out of a recession. Dr. Coué was the French psychologist who won fame by arguing that if we kept saying to ourselves, "Every day in every way I'm getting better and better," we would really get better. That was tried and failed in 1929-32.

While we believe we are in a very definite recession, we still do not predict a depression. We have erected many safety nets during the past 20 years to prevent the bottom from dropping out of the national economy. We have farm-price supports, minimum wages, unemployment compensation, collective bargaining, social security, assistance to the needy aged, blind and dependent children, insured savings deposits and housing programs, to mention a few of these safeguards. But while they may very well cushion the heaviest impact of a depression such as the one which began 25 years ago, that is about as far as they can go.

Having glossed over the current situation, the Administration is led naturally into a Pollyanna outlook toward possible developments and their implications for public policy. The Economic Report concludes:

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> The current readjustment seems likely to be brief and self correcting and—though the present "situation must not be viewed with complacency," nevertheless—
>
> Our economic growth is likely to be resumed during the year, especially if the Congress strengthens the economic environment by translating into action the Administration's far-reaching program.

We distinctly disclaim any powers of economic prophecy. But we do believe economic statesmen should follow the dictum stated in the Economic Report:

> The best we can hope for is to minimize errors of miscalculation through making full use of available data, and to give due recognition to those elements of uncertainty that attach to both the present and the future.

Unfortunately, the Economic Report does not follow its own advice. Evidence is replete that one prime instance of a policy failure due to lack of "recognition of elements of uncertainty" and to "errors of miscalculation" turned up in the "hard money" policy.

The cursory statement in the Economic Report about this grave error is symptomatic of the attitude of the Administration report. It is the case of the soft pedal with the loud push. Had these policies, embarked upon so blithely, not been quickly eased, we might have been in a really serious situation months ago.

Even more obvious is the attitude exhibited in analyzing the current situation. We are asked to wait and see.

This bright optimism leads to a concentration on long-run policies at the expense of measures for short-term stability. Perhaps such optimism will turn out to be justified. But, it clearly does not accord with the rule quoted in regard to allowing for uncertainties nor with the Report's own statements:

> Impressive as are the factors which justify confidence that the current settling of business activity will stay within relatively narrow limits, it should be recognized that periods of readjustment *always carry risks with them.* [*Italics added.*] Continued imbalance could result in cumulative effects, as one sector of the economy reacts upon another. Such reactions are partly psychological in character, but they are nonetheless real. A relatively slight fall in the level of activity, if interpreted as a harbinger of further declines, could lead consumers whose incomes have remained unchanged to start curtailing their purchases because they either fear a loss of income or hope for bargain prices later. If businessmen regard the first cropping off in orders as an occasion for curtailing their programs of capital investment, they could spread and intensify the difficulties they fear.
>
> Prudence as well as zeal for economic improvement require that public policy contribute both to the *immediate strength of the economy* [*italics added*] and to its long-term growth.

Plainly, such prudence was not exercised before the Economic Report was submitted to the Congress. According to Prof. Alvin Hansen of Harvard University, early in 1953 the American economy was basically sound, in no need of purging and did not "have to have a readjustment." But when the decision for quick reductions in defense expenditures was taken, thus creating a temporary problem of "transition," the Administration, adopted a policy of "hard money" and credit restriction through debt management. Although this latter mistake was soon too obvious to go on unreversed, nonetheless the Administration, even in January, 1954, still did not set forth a bold policy to meet the problems of transition.

It is not enough to point to the risks of uncertainty in economic forecasting. Action must be taken to insure against such risks.

Moreover, the fact that we may, in March or April, experience an upturn, does not rule out such action in the slightest degree. We must be alert not to read a seasonal upturn, which may occur in the over-all pattern of recession, as a permanent turn to the better. Most recessions have been marked by varying degrees of fluctuation, while the general pattern was one of a receding economy.

Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, formerly of the Brookings Institution and former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, in testimony before this committee correctly characterized the Administration's premise:

> If I may resort to military vernacular, I would suggest that the net effect of the economic report is to portray this situation as "operation little switch" whereas in fact it will prove to be "operation big switch."

The faulty premise that this transition is an easy, self-regulating small magnitude operation lies at the heart of the faulty policy proposals of the Administration. Nowhere in the Administration's report do we find:

1. A concrete program to move forward boldly *now* to prevent a worsening of present conditions, but rather a tendency to wait until the situation develops further.

2. A farsighted conception of the responsibilities for moving forward economically, in order to continue that expansion of purchasing and production necessary to provide jobs for the some 600,000 new members who will probably move into the labor force this year. Rather, there is an implied tendency to talk of the long-run need for sustained economic growth while, without saying so, surrendering in the immediate short run to "contraction" or "readjustment" without saying how far this process is acceptable before the attainment of long-run goals becomes a distant mirage.

We agree thoroughly with the basic concept of the report that production and jobs are the primary responsibility of private initiative and industry. We cannot accept, however, the implication that a depression must be upon us before government should take some remedial action, especially when, as at present, a substantial part of the depressive forces grow out of governmental policies.

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We regard the Executive's report as wholly inadequate in scope and wrong in the remedies it proposes.

We believe that the Administration proposals are so hedged with a series of "ifs" that there is displayed a reluctance to seize the initiative and act resolutely. Economic upheavals do not wait for "certainties" in administrative minds.

In fact, in speaking of the Administration's program, the Economic Report states:

"It is not a legislative program of emergency measures, for the current situation clearly does not require one." We challenge this assumption.

Later the Report sets forth the basic principles which it says, will guide it in meeting the situation.

> The third basic principle is to pursue measures that will foster the expansion of private activity, *by stimulating consumers to spend more money and businessmen to create more jobs* [*italics ours*], so that the economy may resume its growth with new strength.

That is exactly what we Democrats propose to do, if the Administration will lend its help.

"The fourth principle is to *act promptly and vigorously if* economic conditions require it." [*Italics added.*]

Agreed. If not now, when? Must a depression be storming down upon us before that "if" time is reached?

The Democratic Party has traditionally stood for prosperity, and fought against depression no matter which party held power. We believe all Democrats will give the President support on prompt and vigorous action. We would rather have prosperity and have the Republican Party in power forever than have this nation undergo the catastrophic upheaval of another depression, with all its terrible social consequences.

The objectives above, read against the business conditions we have recited from official sources, and against the very uncertain fate of the President's foreign-trade expansion program in this Republican Congress, compels us to believe that remedies are due *now.*

The "trickle down" theory which is the core of the Administration tax program . . . was tried in 1926-27-28-29-30, and everyone knows the results. They were disastrous. This concept is to give tax relief to the upper brackets, who will save more, invest more, expand industrial plant, create more jobs and therefore expand purchasing and consumption.

In normal times, this concept has a reasonable working validity. There will be some expansion.

But these are not normal times. In periods of business uncertainty, savings flow into the banks, and there tend to become sterilized. Under increased business hazards, banks do not lend, and borrowers will not seek loans. Both sit tight and ride out the uncertainties. . . .

Now the Administration proposes to revive business by a "trickle down" program of additional tax cuts for the higher brackets, and for business.

The Administration tax program briefly provides for:

1. $250 million of reductions for individuals through more liberal credits for medical charges, baby sitters' deductions for working widows and widowers, income-splitting for heads of households, and other small similar benefits.

2. $1.8 billion of relief for business

3. $1.2 billion of reductions for recipients of dividends.

Investors and business would get 12 times as much tax relief as individuals on salaries and wages. But that doesn't tell the whole story. The average individual would get $6 in tax relief, while the average dividend recipient would get $200 ($1.2 billion divided by six million stockholders). That is 33 times as much. But it should be noted that less than four percent of the taxpayers receiving dividends (the group with incomes over $10,000) get more than 75 percent of all dividends. Moreover, recent studies have shown that less than one percent of all American families own 80 percent of all publicly held stock. . . .

This is "trickle down" with a capital T. It outdoes anything of the 1920s. It is inequitable and grossly so.

It will never solve the problem of "stimulating consumers to spend more money and businessmen to create more jobs"; it will not add basically to purchasing power, because, as we have shown, the $1.2 billion of tax relief to dividend earners will go mostly to the four percent of taxpayers who do have incomes of more than $10,000. The $1.8 billion of deductions for business will go primarily to a segment of the economy that has already received $2 billion of relief on the excess-profits tax, and that is already searching for markets for the products of present plants rather than worrying about expanding capacity.

We believe that what is needed now is a sound tax program, one which is fair to all taxpayers and one which will build up mass purchasing power and help to get this nation out of its current recession. We advocate an immediate increase in the personal income-tax exemption of from $600 to $800 and drastic reductions in excise-tax rates. Such a program would pour additional purchasing power into the economy and hence increase sales, production and employment.

THERE are other steps we can take.

Congress has appropriated $83 million for advance planning of state and local public works. In addition, it is estimated that by the end of the current fiscal year, $1.2 billion of authorized federal civil-public-works projects will be planned to the stage where construction could be started. Around $3.5 billion is in the planning stage. Other plans should be ready for a worthwhile program of highways, roads, schools, hospitals and other needed projects when they are needed to sustain the economy. We note with deep approval the constructive section of the committee report on the necessity of having these programs ready to go. We believe that the Congress should seriously consider one further step in this field:

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The enactment of legislation to create a specific agency to harmonize federal-state-local plans, to keep such plans up to date, and to manage and direct public-construction programs when they are instituted. Such agency should be under the direction of the President, and should have the co-operation and facilities of all other federal agencies at its support. Perhaps we shall need an additional appropriation for this purpose.

The appropriate committees of the Congress should consider legislation to encourage the states and give them incentives to modernize unemployment - compensation payments under a standardized procedure. This modernization might include 26 weeks of compensation at 50 percent of a worker's average pay in the three months preceding layoff, with a maximum of $35 to $40 a week, should the committees, after hearing evidence, decide that this standard was desirable.

We should have energetic governmental efforts to remove the overhanging farm surplus without disrupting domestic or foreign markets.

1. Authorize the use of commodities to *supplement* the rations of those on relief, aged pensioners, and those in hospitals, orphanages and public and private eleemosynary institutions.

2. Provide an expansive foreign-relief program through such private and/or public agencies as Congress may find suitable to handle this program.

3. Authorize and provide for the extensive exchange of commodities for strategic minerals including uranium, tin, manganese, rubber and mica. Amendment of the law is necessary to expand the program and provide for processing and shipping.

4. Use surplus commodities as a means of psychological warfare wherever deliverable by various means.

The Communists' New Line

Why the party has decided that Liberals must experience "catastrophe"

by Gus Tyler

THE AMERICAN Communists have again shifted their line back to the Popular-Front policy of the mid-thirties. But with one significant difference: where the earlier effort was directed toward cementing an alliance between the United States and European powers, today's Popular Front will work to disrupt any such alliance.

In its carefully articulated new policy, the Communist Party assigns intricate roles to itself, to the trade unions, to the farm organizations, to the Negro, to the liberal, to the Democratic, Republican, and Progressive Parties, *and to McCarthy*.

Today's fashionable American Communist will masquerade as an old-fashioned Jefferson-Lincoln American, with faith in the two party system, zeal for the defense of our country, abhorrence for imported social systems, contempt for any group of trade unionists seeking to dominate labor, disdain for those who call religion the opiate of the people.

We have all this on the admission of the Communist Party itself. In its draft program, published March 7, 1954, the new comrade makes his entrance with lines like these:

> The issue at the present time is not Communism. . . . Socialism will come into existence only when the majority of the American people decide to establish it. . . . No social system can be imported from abroad. . . . To unite a new political majority for 1954 and 1956 requires recognition that the two party system remains the form through which the overwhelming majority of the American people now express themselves. . . . American Communists believe in the defense of their country. . . . The Communist Party declares that it seeks no conflict with any church or any American's religious belief. . . . We deny any intent to dominate or control the trade-union movement. The draft program is titled, *The American Way*, of course.

If this program isn't American enough for you, the party practically invites you to enter party councils to make it more American; and no party card is required for admission. "The party appeals to non-Communists as well as Communists to read the draft carefully and submit their criticisms and thus help prepare the final version of the program." What better proof that the party is no closed conspiracy!

American trade unions are given the task of initiating the new Popular Front. Its short-range objective is the elections of 1954 and 1956; the long-range objective "must be to help bring about a regrouping and realignment within the Democratic Party nationally and within the Republican Party in local areas." The Progressive

Gus Tyler is Political Director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

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Party nationally and the American Labor Party in New York should quit running separate candidates except where there are just no acceptable Republicans or Democrats to embrace.

This is the Communist Party as the party would like others to see it: peaceful, patient, patriotic and pious.

What is behind this public-relations venture? The answer is contained in the Main Report Delivered at the National Conference of the Communist Party, USA, last fall, "New Opportunities in the Fight for Peace and Democracy."

The "new opportunity" came with the cessation of war in Korea. The Main Report affirms:

> The objective situation, and the changing political temper of the masses, creates the possibility for the party to intervene in a more decisive fashion than was possible in the past period because a new relationship can be established today between the party and the masses.

Quoting from an article of mine in the *ADA World,* the Report continues:

> Social democracy is well aware of this. Here, for example, is how Gus Tyler, Dubinsky's specialist in the struggle against Communism, foresees the trend of events. "Within the American community itself, we may expect a resurgence of Communist influence. In the United States, Communist prestige has always risen in periods of Soviet-American friendship. . . . In short, for the left-of-center forces in America, 1953, and the months to follow can be another Popular-Front World War II era. . . ."
>
> For the Social Democrats, of course, that would be a catastrophe. But the American people will make progress *only in proportion as the policy of Social Democracy experiences one catastrophe after another.*

In other—simpler—words, the Communists expect to make headway in coming months provided the anti-Communist liberals suffer demoralization and defeat.

The Report explains further what constitutes "progress" and why anti-Communist liberals must experience "catastrophe."

> *Formerly* [says the Report] the Soviet struggle for peace was mainly directed to . . . blocking and retarding American imperialism's drive to war. . . . In view of the *new* features of the international situation the Soviet Union's peace initiative has a qualitatively *new* content. . . . It is aimed . . . *at undermining the present anti-Soviet war alliance.* . . .

Whatever isolates America is grist to the Communist mill. And the perfect grist according to the Report is Senator McCarthy. The McCarthy issue is the swiftest and most dramatic means to isolate America: to discredit the "internationalism" of Eisenhower before the American people and to separate the rest of the non-Soviet world from the American people.

The report makes it perfectly clear that the fight against McCarthyism is NOT the chief concern of the party. McCarthy is only a means toward an end, less to be opposed than to be used. The Communists denounce those "liberal and social-democratic forces [that] attempt to confine the struggle as though McCarthyism were a thing in itself." To do so they maintain is "to fall victim to a very narrow concept of the struggle against McCarthyism to the effect that it consists only of a struggle against witch-hunting expeditions, character assassination, abuse of Congressional immunity, and other aspects of McCarthyism." The Communists and the Senator are in fact united in a common purpose; both want the world to believe that McCarthy and America are one and the same.

CHIEF obstacle to the new Communist strategy is the American liberal, especially the liberal leadership in the trade unions. Many months ago, the Communist Party decided upon a policy of industrial concentration, a forced march into the labor movement. To date, the Communists must chalk up losses in this attempt.

In a report to the last National Conference of the CP, titled "Organize the Party for Victory over Reaction," the party admits: "The Party is not based predominantly on industrial workers. On the contrary, there has been a serious decline of industrial workers in the past several years. . . . The fluctuation of the membership has been highest in such key industrial centers as Ohio, Illinois, Western Pennsylvania and Michigan."

Even among the Communist-dominated unions, the party is having trouble. The last named Report adds: "They have suffered serious losses of membership as a result of the combined assaults of employers, government and the right-wing labor bureaucrats."

Among these left-led unions, despite party desires, "there is still no unity and co-ordination of these unions." On the contrary, there is a strong urge among the Red-led unions to enter the "Right-led unions either piecemeal, or en bloc, regardless of any other considerations, including the consideration that the Left leadership of these unions on an international, district and local level will be removed." The party refers to this urge as a "panicky, liquidationist course."

Judging from this, it is the Communists rather than their liberal opponents in the trade unions who are scattering "one catastrophe after another." The party's failure in its "industrial concentration" policy is best summed up in the plaint of a trade unionist in *Party Voice,* a Bulletin of the N.Y. State Communist Party, of December, 1953: "There are seven members in our group whose ages range from 40 to 65 years. These seven are the remaining core of a group of 35."

Where can the seven Communists turn for hope? To rising unemployment or mounting McCarthyism, to isolationists and xenophobes.

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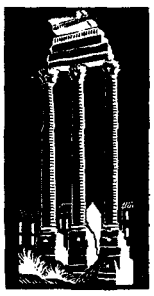
Rome Dispatch: MAN OF THE EXTREME CENTER

It was in Italy, the country with the largest and strongest Communist movement in the Western world, that Marshal Stalin first launched in the grand style the popular-front peace line that was to become and remain a major instrument of Soviet crypto-aggression all over the world. Pietro Nenni delivered the Socialist Party, with its libertarian traditions, to Palmiro Togliatti's Communists in an alliance which had some of the outward appearance of equal and free co-operation and was chosen as the Number One man of the popular-front peace movement.

Now suddenly Nenni's days of dubious glory seem suddenly to be drawing to a close. During the debate in the Chamber of Deputies on Mario Scelba's bid for power, Togliatti ordered one of his walk-outs. To a man (and a woman) the Communist deputies followed him, and also in his wake went a number of the fellow-traveling Socialists. But Nenni and his closest associates remained perplexed and befuddled for several minutes, not knowing what to do and just why to do it. Togliatti hadn't gone to the trouble of warning Nenni in advance.

Eventually, after an interval of intense embarrassment and anger, Nenni did follow Togliatti. But outside Montecitorio the two men went different ways. The whole Chamber—and the whole country—could see that Nenni had become a second-class ally.



The incident fits with other signs that have appeared, particularly since Scelba undertook to form a government, all indicating that Georgi Malenkov has decided to subordinate the carrot to the stick. While the popular-front peace line will remain, it will become—at least temporarily—less important than tough militancy on the labor front and in social and economic action. And in addition a different kind of carrot will be used—a bid for support not on the democratic Left or in the Center but on the Far Right.

Another of the signs of the change is the return to Rome of Alexander Bogomolov as Soviet Ambassador. This means, first of all, that in Italy as in France, the Kremlin's top priority is defeat of the EDC at almost any cost. As in Germany the real Kremlin appeal is to the nationalists and the neo-Nazis and in France, the Gaullists, so in Italy, the job of Bogomolov is to win the nationalists in the Christian Democratic Party itself, among the Monarchists, and most of all among the neo-Fascists.

If the danger that Italy might slide or stumble into a popular front of the Left, with disastrous consequences not only for the EDC but for the nation's loyalty to the Atlantic alliance, has been averted, much of the credit must be given to Scelba. He was already well known as his party's strong man.

But it wasn't only the reputation and the fact of toughness that earned for Scelba, in his appearance before Parliament, the equal fury of the far Left and the far Right. He outbid Nenni for the support of Giuseppe Saragat's Democratic Socialists, giving a splinter party that had receded at the elections last year the large role in the Cabinet that, in terms of voting strength, Nenni's party might deserve.

Scelba exhibited political courage—rare in an Italian office-holder or office-seeker these days. He averted or postponed the stumbling toward a phony "opening on the Left" (which means the popular front) by openly repudiating his own party's steady creeping toward the Right.

If Italian democracy has a better chance to survive—with or without Scelba as Premier—it is because he unequivocally expressed the will to make it live—by force as a democratic dictatorship, if necessary; but not as a hybrid structure propped up by dangerous and weakening compromises and concessions either on the Left or on the Right. Scelba showed himself to be a man of what has been called "the extreme Center"—it remains to be seen which of the two words become the more meaningful.

Still, whatever may happen to Scelba's bid for power—real power, for himself personally and as the policeman and mentor of honest and really strong democracy—it is already plain that he has ended the "age of Pella." So long as the Christian Democrats, led by Giuseppe Pella, sought support from the Monarchists and accepted it even from the neo-Fascists, the Communists could go through the motions of moving toward the Center. That situation has now changed. Nenni won't of course fight in favor of the EDC, but Togliatti's fight against it will be made in working alliance with Covelli, the leader of the Monarchists, and de Marsanich, the head of the neo-Fascist movement; and behind the scene directing operations will be Ambassador Bogomolov, Stalin's private eye in Petain's Vichy and his glad hand to Mussolini's ex-friend Badoglio.

The fact is that the demo-christian creeping toward the Right, which became policy under Pella, had already been in practice in the last years of Alcide de Gasperi's long term in office. There is no doubt that he allowed serious moral and political corruption to permeate public and private life and de Gasperi tolerated the return of Fascists to many, indeed a very large number of key posts not only in government but in every walk of life. Worst of all, though he and his government passed laws for social justice and economic reform, they were badly or not at all enforced.

Thus, although Scelba's bold anti-Fascism is an excellent quality, the fate of democracy depends on his ability to do two things—to beat the Bogomolov line of direct, even violent action, but prevention and repression that do not turn the police into the symbol of the state itself; and to allow Saragat and his men in the Cabinet—Romita, Tremolloni and Vigorelli—to carry out the reforms which, in theory at least, it was the task of Nenni's popular front to bring about.

It is an experiment that is important not only for Italy but for the whole Western world. If Scelba succeeds in getting the EDC ratified, the line to which the Bogomolov-Togliatti-Covelli-de Marsanich combination will tactically retreat will be an attack—by totalitarians of the Right and Left—on Scelba's democracy on the ground that it is effective only as a dictatorship.

Rome FRANK GORRELL

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BOOKS & COMMENT

A Conservative Educator

by Harold Taylor

THE STYLE and content of Mr. Hutchins' thinking about education has not altered in any appreciable way since he first began to administer education and to write about it more than twenty years ago. Stated baldly, his position, then as now, is that the ability to deal with abstract thought is the highest human virtue, and the American schools and colleges, partly by incompetence and partly through lack of philosophy, do not teach people to achieve it.

The Conflict in Education, (Harper; $2); *The University of Utopia,* by Robert M. Hutchins (Chicago; $2.50).

In his most recent lectures, at the University of Upsala in 1951, at the University of Toronto in 1952, and at the University of Chicago in 1953, now published in the two books under review, the Hutchins' terms reappear unchanged. The American educational system is still rotten to the core. European boys at the age of eighteen know more languages and other subjects than American boys of the same age. American thought is still being corrupted by relativism, scientism, skepticism and the anti-intellectualism of the schools; the four of them "have produced that chaos in education which will end in the disintegration of the West."

The same student who refused to take any course given above the first floor appears once more, the same frightening courses in beauty treatment, plumbing, car driving, the same students in engineering who can talk to no one but other engineers. John Dewey is still the one who undid us all. The model of the medieval European university continues as the ideal for America to follow.

With its extravagance and its tone of mingled contempt, cynicism and idealism, all this could be helpful in forcing examination of the faults in American education if it went beyond abstract statement and slogans and penetrated the reality of American life and American schools and colleges.

But it doesn't. Mr. Hutchins prefers to remain on the surface and to leave to others the real problems of the educator—the ones which teachers meet when they teach students and take an interest in their lives. His argument runs from abstraction to abstraction, dismissing philosophies and value systems with a sentence, settling serious philosophical questions, with one or two words, assuming without further comment that "the chaos now obtaining in the philosophy of education results from the chaos in philosophy in general."

Consider an example of Mr. Hutchins' thought, taken from *The Conflict in Education.* Mr. Hutchins says, appropriating Santayana's epigram about the fanatic:

> Every time educators address themselves on the subject of education in America, they urge one another to redouble their efforts and forget their aims. . . . Americans are of all people the least inclined to philosophize. The most eminent philosophers who have lived in America in the last fifty years were Whitehead and Santayana, who were foreigners, and Dewey, whose philosophy is not, as I have suggested, a philosophy at all.

It is hard to know what to do with things like this. Most educators do not urge one another to work harder; we usually bore each other by talking constantly about our aims.

Americans not inclined to philosophize? What nation is? Certainly Americans do not spend much time reading European philosophy but they are greatly inclined to philosophize about their lives and are at it all the time.

Whitehead and Santayana foreigners? How long has any of us been here and what does that matter? The greatest influence of Whitehead and Santayana has been felt not in Europe or the Far East but in the United States, where they have commanded the serious attention of students and readers.

Dewey's philosophy not a philosophy? Then what have the anti-Dewey critics and Mr. Hutchins been arguing against for all these years?

The book is full of generalizations which crumble when pushed and it loses a great deal by continuous overstatement. If many of the remarks were deflated by 50 percent, they would probably be true, and possibly be convincing.

In *The Conflict in Education,* there are four educational doctrines which Mr. Hutchins believes to prevail in the United States—the doctrines of adjustment, of immediate needs, of social reform, and of no doctrine at all. He argues against each in turn, showing that if and when they are held, they are likely to lead to the corruption of liberal education. But here again, few educators who are at work in the classroom would agree either that these doctrines are accurately described or that they exert the influence Mr. Hutchins fears.

For example, the doctrine of adjustment is identified with a college where the curriculum is based on the diaries of 323 women whose needs are then analyzed and courses provided to meet them. The same example is used to describe the theory of immediate need.

Most educators would agree with Mr. Hutchins that this is an unenlightened plan for a program of education. But few could agree that the American colleges are actually influenced in any significant way by the activities of this institution or by those who think in that style. The greatest influence just now comes from the opposite side, from those who think of education as exposure to a series of academic subjects.

Or the doctrine of social reform: Mr. Dewey and Mr. T. S. Eliot are both said to be wrong in believing that education should be used to reform society. "The social reformer is limited to adapting the rising generation to social changes already agreed upon." But neither Mr. Dewey nor Mr. Eliot meant that at all. In different ways, neither would agree to accept social change if it failed to meet his own standards of desirability. Dewey said that the values of society themselves become changed by the application of creative intelligence to social problems. That was why he wanted the social problems brought into the schools for the teachers and students to work out together.

Mr. Eliot, on the other hand, wanted to "preserve the class and select the élite." But this is not a philosophy for social change, it is a plan for imposing absolute values. Admittedly, Mr. Eliot

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is doomed to disappointment if he hopes that this point of view is going to arouse much enthusiasm in the democratic systems of Great Britain or the United States. The point is that he is talking about a system of values already arrived at, whereas Dewey's ideas have to do with a process for arriving at them.

When Mr. Hutchins comes to the statement of his own educational doctrine, we are once again in the presence of the élite-philosophy. "The prime object of education is to know what is good for man. It is to know the goods in their order. There is a hierarchy of values. The task of education is to help us understand it, establish it, and live by it."

Where does the hierarchy of values come from? Who knows the goods in their order? Isn't it in fact the whole task of education to help individuals to establish their own hierarchy of values and to know the goods in an order discovered through their own experience?

This is the crucial point around which the real conflicts in education now turn. I wish Mr. Hutchins had started from there and had argued his position at length rather than going over the ground he has plowed so long.

As it is, there are too many questions begged and too many questions left unanswered, including the basic one about where this hierarchy of values comes from. The American Legion has a hierarchy of values, the Catholic Church another, the Communist Party a third, Senator McCarthy a fourth, and there are any number of other systems of values held by groups and individuals who would like to have the educational system "understand, establish and live by them." Most of us would prefer not to feel obliged to accept any such hierarchy, and would rather work one out ourselves.

Other questions come in a rush when we read the following flat statements, among many more of the same order:

> Men are rational animals, they achieve their terrestrial felicity by the use of reason.
>
> What is called social science cannot tell us what kind of society we ought to aim at.
>
> . . . there has always been an education that has been regarded as the best for the best . . . for those who were to rule the state and for those who had leisure.

Having assumed that the education given to rulers and the leisure class has always been the "best" and, presumably, that the people who ruled or had leisure were the "best," Mr. Hutchins goes on to say that the educational system for a democracy should therefore bring to everybody else what has been regarded by the "best" as the best. There are a great many questions to be raised at this point.

It also follows that the University of Utopia is a place where the best minds discuss the best ideas, and where scholars are free to employ all the discoveries of the past, and to bring their thoughts to bear on contemporary problems of civilization. Mr. Hutchins feels that the universities have gone so far in the direction of empiricism, specialism and positivism that we will never capture the spirit and attitude of the University of Paris and of medieval universalism. He suggests another kind of institution, set apart from society, composed of "men who were prepared to conduct a continuous Socratic dialogue on the basic issues of human life."

Throughout *The University of Utopia* runs most of the same criticism made in the previous book, with most of the schools and colleges referred to as parts of a custodial system "for the non-penal accommodation of the young." The effects of industrialization on society, and thus on the universities, are noted, with further discussion of the evils of specialization. Mr. Hutchins says a great many sensible things about the internal working of the university, and suggests the reform of the university system so that we can develop men who are specialists but whose total character is not inhibited by narrow training.

The way to do this is to build an educational system with a completely prescribed program for children from the age of six to sixteen in reading, writing, figuring, history, geography, "the greatest literature in the world," science, art, and music. Then the student moves to a prescribed college program, and between the ages of eighteen and twenty takes examinations which qualify him for the bachelor of arts degree. He then goes on to the university or off to work.

Since the social sciences have not been taught in school or college, with only a little history and literature, residential adult education centers would be built throughout the country, and in Utopia, rather than taking a summer vacation, people would go to these centers for study and "continuous conversation about important subjects."

Roughly, the system is the same as the traditional private preparatory school, followed by the College of the University of Chicago, then the University itself, with summer vacations in Aspen, Colorado, for continuous conversation. The difficulty about this particular Utopia is the problem of getting students to go into it without the use of force or coercion, and the problem of finding the train fare to Colorado. The combination of Puritanism, intellectual piety, and Chautauqua-ism would be a little too grim for most people.

Although an entire chapter of *The University of Utopia* is devoted to the matter of philosophical diversity and its preservation, the key terms used by Mr. Hutchins belie his own sentiments and his own personal ideals with regard to freedom.

"Yet civilization," he says, "is the deliberate pursuit of a common ideal. Education is the deliberate attempt to form men in terms of an ideal. It is the attempt of a society to produce the type of man that it wants."

I do not believe that this is education: it is a formula for a training program. Education is the process by which individuals create their own ideals according to the best guidance they can find. As soon as education is conceived as a way of producing types of men which society wants, it becomes a means of manipulating human beings. They are then the means to preconceived ends set by the rulers or by social concensus. I would recommend that we all stay out of this Utopia as long as we can.

The Races: Africa

IT MAY BE that some future historian will note a correlation between the decay of white man's parliamentary democracy and the statistical curve showing the rise and decline of his spawning; if so,

The People of South Africa, by Sarah Gertrude Millin (Knopf; $4.50).

South Africa will then be viewed as the testing ground for this grim law. Mrs. Sarah Millin has given us the first definitive study of the peoples and politics of her country.

When, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, the white peoples burst their European cocoon and seized the far-

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flung temperate lands, they settled in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Canada and the more moderate zone of South America. In all these areas except the two land bulks to the south of the Tropic of Capricorn, unencumbered by ideology, they exterminated or so reduced the aborigines they were able to evolve an amiable pattern of culture and intra-tribal justice. But in South Africa the boundary of the white man unfortunately abutted a huge tract occupied by black peoples; and the subsequent history of that country has been a reflection of the tensions endured by a small boa constrictor trying to swallow a large indigestible pig.

Mrs. Millin, who writes in a delightful tongue-in-cheek manner, tells the story of a land wrenched by strife not only among white, black and yellow men, but between the whites themselves. She shows the rise of friction between the original Boer settlers and the English when the latter, as an incident in the convulsions attending the French Revolution, took over the Cape Colony in 1795; the trekking away of the Boers as the English tried to impose on them the thought that since all children were the children of God, the native Africans should be treated in a vaguely human fashion; and the final stroke of English malevolence, leading to the Great Trek, when they cut at the root of Boer society by abolishing slavery in 1833. But the Boers, after having subdued the black tribesmen in a series of engagements known as the Kaffir Wars, finally found freedom beyond the scope of the English —freedom to make new slaves—and settled down to a patriarchal life on the open veld beyond the Orange River, where the blacks obediently farmed the farms and raised oddly pigmented half-breeds to increase the ranks of the runaway Baastards.

Unfortunately, however, for the Boers, diamonds were discovered in the Transvaal and the ambitions of Cecil Rhodes, pointing from Cape to Cairo, had to traverse their territory. So the Union Jack moved north again, stumbling over the Boer War, and came finally to rest in the wilds where gold and diamonds waited the picking.

It was no more than a few years after the Boer War when the conquered Dutch were almost astonished to discover that England, by giving them the vote, had in effect really lost the Boer War; and the intoxication resulting is still brewing its mischief. For the Boers struck back by the ballot, and, since Rhodes, no South African of English descent has ever occupied the Prime Minister's Residence. But the Boers learned by the English error; though they had won the Boer War by the ballot, they would not lose the Kaffir Wars, the wars against the black man . . . and reversing history, they took away the vote from the colored people of the Cape region and forbade any political activity on the part of the blacks. And, to make absolutely certain, they weighted the country against the city people they dreaded so that whacking Nationalist victories can now be run up with a very small part of the total voting population.

The best-laid plans, however, often go awry. The sexual urge, being unsusceptible to political gerrymandering, the Indians, imported as cheap labor before the turn of the century, continue to breed with "terrible fecundity," while additional millions of blacks pour across the vast desert frontiers in search of jobs: and the white man shakes in his gold-studded boots. The Boer, afraid of submerging his culture, prohibits the entry of other white men (even modern Dutchmen tend to vote for the opposition); but he cannot live without the black, who works his mines, plants and reaps his soil, delivers his goods, builds his roads, cleans his house, 98 percent of the unskilled workers and 67 percent of the semi-skilled workers are non-whites today. The Boer, by a curious transposition of events, has become the slave of the colored man, for where a man can only be served he is as much in bondage as is his server. And because of this dependence, the Boer hates his gaoler while he sips the delights of thralldom. The more the white man differentiates himself from the black—while economic and cultural influences narrow that which is politically sundered —the more also the black man differentiates himself from the white: it is the fear of the European which is creating the nationalist African conscience. Modern industry demands semi-skilled labor and the Boer, in spite of himself, has to train Caliban, has to educate him, has to make him *see* European; and soon a black Beaumarchais may strut a black Figaro across the stage, singing Mau Mau in Marxian dialectic, while the black audience puffs itself to storm the gates of Johannesburg. Two and a half million white persons (20 percent of whom have been "made white" as the expression goes for those of questionable ancestry) camp amidst nine million blacks and some 300,000 Indians while, on an exposed frontier, 160 million more blacks watch the drama. One goes to the Club but sleeps with a gun by the side "just in case"; and every day another baby Jomo Kenyatta is propelled into the world.

But let us in America not disdain. The four-to-one black-to-white ratio in South Africa pertains almost exactly to the white man in this dark-skinned world, and the cycle of population increase among the Asiastic and African peoples is barely at the threshold. Because the white nations, through the aegis of the Industrial Revolution, were enabled to snatch the best lands, does that historic accident justify an artificial division of the world's real estate forever? Will the most liberal white man, as the Boer says with mordant cynicism, give up a life of ease that comes from paying the black or yellow man a tenth or fifteenth as much as the white man? As Mrs. Millin quotes sardonically: "Be not righteous overmuch, neither make thyself overwise: why shouldest thou destroy thyself?" When the Chinese campaign today against the Americans as mere "paper dragons," when the rebellious Malayans called the RAF "Run And Flee" with contempt after the defeat of the British by the Japanese, this is all part of a growing knowledge that the white man's ethic, the white man's God and the white man's pocketbook bear a more than casuistic relation.

The Boers today fear the power of India in the United Nations: there are 200 Indians for every one of them. But the white South African of today, camped in hostile array among the hordes of unfranchised blacks, is the American of tomorrow; it is merely that our rolling oceans lull us into a false state of somnambulism. And then, what will we do? The Boers have made their response by creating the Broederband (Brother-Band), the pro-German National Socialist movement now fused into Dr. Malan's Reunited National Party. Will we respond to our ideal and move forward with the world which we helped to create in 1776, or will we regress to a Band of Brothers, sleeping with guns at our sides and growling at a world which has supplanted our parochial vision?

DANIEL M. FRIEDENBERG

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The Races: USA

DR. RAYFORD W. LOGAN, distinguished head of the History Department at Howard University, has set out in minute detail the failure of our country to come to grips after the Civil War with the social and economic problems that followed emancipation. What he correctly calls "the nadir" of American race relations was the result of indifference and neglect and failure of leadership.

Emancipation was the resolute act of a strong President and Commander-in-Chief. Following emancipation the rights of the new freedmen were secured by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution and by statutes which defined the civil rights intended to be protected, and provided criminal penalties for their infringement.

The Negro in American Life and Thought, The Nadir 1877-1901, by Rayford W. Logan (Dial; $5). *Breakthrough on the Color Front,* by Lee Nichols (Random House; $3.50).

The compromise of 1877 slowed to a walk efforts to consolidate the gains of the reconstruction era. Although there was a growing denial of the rights of citizenship, half a century was to elapse before any President paid more than perfunctory attention to it. The voting rights of the new citizens were dwindling with every election. Violence was increasing; the number of lynchings per year exceeded one hundred.

In view of the complacence of the nation's leaders, from Presidents to the press, it is little wonder that, one after another, the meaning and value of the great forward steps taken after the Civil War were whittled away — the civil rights statutes by court decisions; the Constitutional amendments by the curious legal reasoning that they were intended to protect property rights, not human rights.

Surely the low point of the entire period was the decision in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* when, for the first time, the Supreme Court of the United States enunciated the "separate but equal" doctrine. This, of course, is the same doctrine now under re-examination by the Court on an issue which involves the right of all children to receive the same education. How ancient are the unresolved issues of human rights!

Lee Nichols' book will be a restorative for any who have lost faith in human progress. Using a reporter's methods he has ferreted out the story behind the racial integration—now nearly complete—of the armed forces of the United States. This story is not simple. Mr. Nichols has told it in detail and with a good reporter's accuracy as to names, dates and places. He deserves every bit of the praise that will come his way.

Racial integration of the armed forces of our country is one of those truly great events, so inclusive in its effect and so powerful in its sweep that it dwarfs all the individuals concerned, whatever their roles may have been. Events of this magnitude do not take place by accident. No one man can generate the forces that overturn the customs of a dozen or more decades. But one man with the qualities of true leadership can, and in this case did, guide and direct them.

Integration in the armed forces began in a small way in connection with the defense build-up of World War II, and made painful progress during the war itself. After the war segregation up to the divisional level, together with a ten per cent quota on total Negro strength, was frozen into policy by a board of general officers. The first major review of this policy was made by the Truman Committee on Civil Rights. Its recommendation that all segregation in the armed forces be abolished by whatever means were necessary was published in October, 1947. Yet, as late as 1948 spokesmen for the armed forces were defending small-unit segregation before a committee of the Congress.

There the matter stood when the civil rights issue was forced in the 1948 Democratic convention as part of the showdown between pro- and anti-Truman forces. Truman's sweep of the convention put the strongest civil rights plank in history into the Democratic platform. That was where the words "Equal Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services" first appeared and it was from that plank that the name was drawn when a committee was created by President Truman.

From Mr. Nichols' description one could reasonably conclude that the recommendation of this Presidential Committee happily coincided with the wishes of the civilian leaders of the armed forces, but was accepted with considerable foot-dragging by a part of the officer corps. Such a conclusion is chiefly a tribute to the quiet efficiency of this Committee's work under the chairmanship of Judge Charles Fahy. Much of the Fahy Committee work was done in an atmosphere of silent, subterranean struggle. The Committee succeeded because it persistently sought out the complex personnel procedures by which racial discrimination had long been perpetuated in the armed services. To be successful, the Committee staff had to learn all that was known to the oldest veterans of personnel administration. Only when this task was complete was it possible to devise foolproof remedies, carry them to the Service Secretaries, and when necessary, to President Truman personally. This procedure struck home, as was demonstrated by the anguish it caused among some experts in personnel. This Mr. Nichols has described in rich detail. That their opposition was not successful is due to the persistence of the Committee, the skill of its staff, and the determination of President Truman.

The "new look" in the armed services progressed unevenly until the urgent need for manpower in Korea resulted in massive changes which are now nearly complete.

These changes found a well prepared climate of opinion that did not resist them in any important way. Such a climate was non-existent at any time during World War II. It was created by just one thing—the leadership of Harry S. Truman in keeping before the country the issue of civil rights during the seven years of his Presidency.

It is this quality of leadership that was so conspicuously lacking in the 1879-1901 period described by Dr. Logan. History can teach, but are there any students? One may well ask whether we can expect continued progress in race relations in the areas of American life in which inequalities and inequities remain unless vigorous Presidential leadership is provided. Race relations is an area in which it is much easier to drift than to press forward. Complacency can easily mean the loss of the momentum that was generated between April, 1945 and January, 1953, and has kept us comfortably in motion for the past year. No matter how they are decided, the great constitutional questions now before the Supreme Court will provide a maximum test of Presidential leadership in the field of civil rights. PHILLEO NASH

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A Critic's Memoirs

IT IS TEMPTING to speak of this volume of reminiscence as "the flowering of Van Wyck Brooks." That story, however, was told by him more than ten years ago, in a volume he put out under the modest title of *The Opinions of Oliver Allston.* If anyone has doubted in the interval whether Oliver really was Brooks, he can now lay his doubts aside. The tastes, ideas, prejudices of Oliver, the little facts of his biography —a meeting with Francis Grierson, Yeats at Petitpas, his fascination for the drama of Tolstoy's flight from Yasnaya Polyana—are to be found in both books. Indeed both have a somewhat similar cast of characters, save that now we also meet Brooks' immediate and non-literary family. The essential difference between the two books is that the Allston "journals" were an account of the writer's spiritual pilgrimage while the present volume contains more of the physical facts of the journey. The earlier book was introspective, meditative, philosophical. *Scenes and Portraits* is objective, visual, opalescent. Taken together the two volumes give us the two sides of the same medal: the personality of Van Wyck Brooks.

It is a complex personality, that of a cosmopolitan mind bent at all costs on being a glorious provincial. We can discern all the high qualities, those that make him our one genuine "man of letters"—in the old-fashioned sense of the term—since the death of Howells. He has a style and a manner, a sense of picturesque, a feeling for the anecdote as a work of art. He has a genuine relish for the idiosyncrasies and the *bizarreries* of literary bohemia and a tendency to suffuse with a pastel optimism even the dark moments in the lives of our great writers.

Scenes and Portraits, by Van Wyck Brooks (Dutton; $4.50).

The act of appreciation, of course, is an act of criticism, and Mr. Brooks has written as a critic while fashioning his accounts of the literary life in America, and now of his own literary life both in America and abroad. Yet it is as a critic, I suspect, that he ultimately will be found wanting. For Brooks (and his alter ego Allston) is a didact, and this means that he pleads for special points of view and that a querulous vein of prophecy runs through his writing. He acknowledges this when he tells us that he now sees he tended, in some of his writings, to fit "complex persons in beds of Procrustes . . . in order to make my case." He invariably has felt the need to make a "case" instead of following disinterestedly wherever his evidence will lead him. And this means that he has tended to impose the concepts of his own imagination upon reality.

Happily there is no "case" to plead in these memoirs. They are, as I said, largely visual, and Mr. Brooks has always possessed a pair of sharp eyes when he was looking directly at life. He paints an animated gallery in the same pastel shades in which John Butler Yeats caught him in the sketch constituting the admirable frontispiece to this volume. Out of the quiet years of his own life we are shown his relatives at Plainfield, N. J.; Maxwell Perkins, who was a cherished friend, John Gould Fletcher in London, or John Butler Yeats the father of the poet.

Perhaps the principal clue to Van Wyck Brooks' personality is to be found in the witty and affectionate portrait we are given of his father. He knew him in many roles, and always dressed for the part—even to having a special cap for ocean voyages! He tells us that "he had a maxim for every occasion" (like his son who seems to have a literary quotation for every occasion); and his "idea of undress was a blue reefer or a black pea jacket; but he commonly wore a broadcloth coat, a cutaway with short tails, a square-topped derby hat and striped worsted trousers. With these went the usual assortment of seal-rings, scarf-pins, watch-charms and massive sleeve-buttons that paralleled the brooches and bangles of the feminine sex." And the son wonders, "had my father been miscast in life?" A father of many costumes and many identities, and a son clearly not sure at first of his own! We follow Brooks from New Jersey to Harvard where he swoons on drinking his first tumbler of whiskey; we go with him from Harvard to Mayfair and from Mayfair to the Village and to his ultimate discovery of the glories of American literature. From pondering the case of his own identity, he has gone on to ponder that of America's ambiguous national identity. By degrees he discovers that he too can don different garments for different occasions and be, by turn, the man of Concord or of New York—or even put on a disguise and become his own character, Oliver Allston.

So, in these memoirs, Brooks' voice seems often to take on the voice of his alter ego. He writes the pages of his own life—in all their sharp images—as if he had found them not in life but in books—even to the final rendering of a dream alike Proustian and Jamesian, preceded by his mother's good-night kiss and then a flight into an exalted victory over a costumed man—a Hindu with a glittering knife—and a soaring away to the glories of art. LEON EDEL

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Notes on the Critics

HAROLD TAYLOR, President of Sarah Lawrence College, is the author of *On Freedom and Education.* DANIEL FRIEDENBERG has recently returned from Africa. PHILLEO NASH, an anthropologist, was formerly Administrative Assistant to President Truman. LEON EDEL is completing his biography of Henry James.

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THEATRE

READERS of André Gide have inevitably noticed that the play now running on Broadway under the title *The Immoralist* has precious little to do with the novel that suggested it. There is something immoral about the novel's hero not only in society's opinion but in Gide's: the young man is cruel and selfish, the dramatically interesting point being, perhaps, that his callous neglect of his wife is in some ways salutary; bad is good; life is complex, disorderly, and to a large extent disgusting. The book is not a likable one, perhaps not even a good one, yet the mind and sensibility of Gide are in it; you can't shrug it off.

Since Ruth and Augustus Goetz, the authors of the play, were none too interested in Gide's theme, mind, and sensibility, one might deduce that they could go to a novel of his only for its story. But *The Immoralist* has no story; none, at least, that is pushed to the point of drama, an art in which the complexities of the world have to be concentrated in a few individuals. Gide's hero has a roving eye, and we are privy to many of his thoughts as his eye roves; for stage purposes, the Goetzes find themselves forced to invent characters for his eye to rove *to*. Why would anyone want to adapt a novel that doesn't lend itself to adaptation? Ask what characters the Goetzes have to invent, and you have the answer. The two chief ones are homosexual partners for the protagonist. The Goetzes wanted to write about homosexuality.

Who doesn't? It is the subject of the hour. Why? Is homosexuality spreading or are we simply more and more aware of it? Unanswerable questions! What we may more profitably ask is where any pronouncement on the subject stands in the evolution of a more rational attitude to it. For, surely, since the time when the prostitutes danced on the sidewalk to celebrate the conviction of Oscar Wilde, public opinion has changed. The Goetzes' play seems to have been conceived to carry a message of tolerance; if it does not spring from an understanding of the original *Immoralist*, it springs from sympathy for the married homosexual who wrote it. The play is a portrait of Gide seen through the spectacles of a generous humanitarianism. The message is pretty explicit in the speeches of a family retainer who asks the angry brother-in-law to be kind and in utterances of the protagonist himself, like (I quote from memory): "I didn't invent this problem."

Humanitarianism is generous by definition; by tradition it is rather misty-eyed and stupid. The kindness of humanitarians is the sort that kills; they must be kind only to be cruel. The Goetzes' kindness to their protagonist is so great they finally take the dilemma on which he is impaled and saw off its horns. The question has been: What can a homosexual husband do—assuming that his wife loves him and that he needs her affection? The answer proffered in the last scene of the play is that he can do without homosexuality. Or can he? This is modern drama. We can end, if we like, with a question mark. What the Goetzes don't seem to have realized is that this is not to ask a question but to beg one—the main question of their play. Perhaps the honest ending would have been to let the husband stay with the wife, both of them knowing that there would also be men. Is this more than the public of 1954 will take? Possibly; but a humanitarian playwright would be interested in putting the matter to the test. To write a didactic play is to suppose yourself ahead of the public and to suppose the public in need of your advice. A didactic playwright can write *only* plays that are more than the public will take.

But there is a kind of liberalism which is safely conservative. It carries all the soft and self-congratulatory motion of reformism without running the risks. And the chief trick of this pseudo-liberal mind is to fare boldly forward toward the heroic goal, then slink quietly off at the last moment, hoping no one is looking. It is certainly a handy trick in the New York theatre where the critics start deciding what to say in the intermission.

The goal the Goetzes were making for was the open presentation of homosexuality and the open advocacy of a humane attitude to it. Up to now, as Gide told them in an interview, homosexuality in the theatre has only been an accusation. Its standard form at present is, in fact, the *unjust* accusation; for our public has reached the point where it will allow the subject of homosexuality to come up, provided that the stigma is removed before the end of the evening; the idea is: tolerance provided there is nothing to tolerate. The Goetzes could hardly turn *The Immoralist* into *Tea and Sympathy*. But if our hero can't say he didn't do it in the past, can't we ask him to try not to do it in the future? If we can't teach our audience, can't we teach our hero? *He* at least must do as we say.

In short, the Goetzes stuck on a final scene that recalls the final scene of *Caine Mutiny* in its impertinence and its last-minute conformism. It is not true that what precedes that scene is uniformly undramatic. There is a drama in the story, though the Goetzes haven't quite written it, and Gide hasn't written it for them. It is the triangle drama in which the third party is the husband's lover. The Goetzes, at one point, even suggest a possible approach: the protagonist is an immoralist, not for being homosexual, but for insisting on having both wife and lover, refusing to choose between them. But the idea is neither confirmed, contraverted, nor otherwise developed.

Oddly enough, it is the hero's two male partners who come off best theatrically—perhaps because they are played by two very skilful young actors, David Stewart and James Dean. The two principals—Louis Jourdan and Geraldine Page—do not fill the yawning gaps of the script. Mr. Jourdan plays with discretion, even with beauty, but gives no impression of being a complicated person or even an intellectual: his archeological papers and books are foolishly external like the glasses movie stars wear to look studious. Geraldine Page does her usual act, a good one in itself, fluttery and syncopated, but without relation to this play. She didn't make us feel she was a very powerful counter-attraction to the boys. That the directing of Daniel Mann did not impose unity or even unbroken intensity on the material may or may not be a reflection on Mr. Mann; there were scenes (such as Miss Page's drunk scene) which seemed to have benefitted from his presence.

Despite some damaging reviews, the play is still running. It does have shock value. In the intermission you hear ladies asking if such things can be; for the male prostitutes on Times Square are easy to overlook for those who see New York through taxi windows.

ERIC BENTLEY

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Motion Picture Censorship

It is surprising, perhaps the irony of the year, to find an article in the *New Republic* suggesting "official censorship" of motion pictures. Surely the editors can't agree with the conclusions of Walter Goodman in his article in the February 22 issue. We would still like to think that the *NR* believes that the First Amendment means what it says about freedom of expression.

Mr. Goodman points to the British censorship system as a model that might be adopted in the United States. Anyone familiar with that system could never have even intimated, as Mr. Goodman did, that the British, while restricting, do not forbid exhibition of motion pictures. Let there be no mistake—under the British system films can be, and are, banned from exhibition.

And Mr. Goodman neglected to bring out that statutory censorship is virtually universal in the British countries. In this respect, we are far better off in the United States. By contrast, 41 of our states do not censor motion pictures.

We abhor such censorship. We hope that the *New Republic*—all the press—will join the efforts we have been consistently making to wipe censorship off the statute books in the United States.

MANNING CLAGETT
Motion Picture Association of America
New York City

. . .

In his hasty scanning of my article, Mr. Clagett appears to have missed the point.

1. I was not heralding the British censorship system "as a model" to be transplanted full-blown to this country: "there are," if I may quote myself, "valid objections to it." I merely meant to suggest, as a helpful aside to producers, that the application here of one part of this system—centralized barring of certain films to minors—might cool the moral fervor of sundry high-minded bodies.

2. If I gave the impression that Mr. Goldwyn would find himself under less constraint in Great Britain than in Hollywood, that is just the impression I meant to give. All the County Councils of the British Isles put together have not been as successful in muffling movies as has Mr. Clagett's organization.

3. Since only one paragraph of a three-page article contained any reference to Britain's system— and this to a single aspect of it—I may possibly be forgiven for not analyzing the system in detail. But my subject was film censorship in the United States—a subject which Mr. Clagett does not dwell upon in his letter.

WALTER GOODMAN
Washington, D. C.

. . .

I noticed a slight error in Walter Goodman's very good article. Catholics are asked to take the Legion of Decency *pledge*—not oath.

Catholics, of course, have no obligation to take this very unwise pledge, and as far as I know, no defined degree of guilt is attached to the breaking of it. Since a great many Catholics themselves seem not to know this, Mr. Goodman's error is understandable.

EDWIN KENNEBECK
New York City

► Of Time and the Senator

Freedom of the press is a grand concept but it becomes revolting when it degenerates into a kind of joint stock company of sneaks in the pay of bullies. What, for example, can you do about the anonymous writer who solemnly intones after the latest McCarthy exploits: "a week packed with investigative achievement" (*Time*, March 1)? I'd say that was a statement packed with premeditated mendacity. This of McCarthy, mind you, of whom we can say with the Prophet Amos:

I know your countless crimes,
Your manifold misdeeds—
Browbeating honest men . . .
(It is a time when the prudent make
no protest,
So evil is the time).

P. W. NORRIS
Stockton Springs, Maine

► Competition in Burnses

Theodore Kreps in his review of Arthur F. Burns' *The Frontiers of Economic Knowledge* (*NR*, March 8) raises the question why Mr. Burns has abandoned some of the issues raised in "the famous, authoritative study on *The Decline of Competition*, published by Burns in 1936."

The answer is that there are too many Arthur Burnses in the economic profession. Arthur F. Burns (*The Frontiers of Economic Knowledge;* Council of Economic Advisers) is a different man from Arthur Robert Burns (*The Decline of Competition*); and both, in turn, are different from Arthur Edward Burns (*Government Spending and Economic Expansion*).

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.
Cambridge, Mass.

► Good Job of Barbarism

To answer your correspondents in more solemn tones, the thesis of my little essay was just that the younger generation has, once more, rejected the 'literary' literature of its elders. It neither writes it nor reads it with pleasure. I think this a sound attitude, because I think the stuff printed in the leading quarterlies, like the fading *Vaticide Review*, is empty academic posturing . . . I, for one, feel that the American novel, when it tries to be civilized, is only ridiculous, but that it often does a pretty good job of barbarism. And it is not just America any more; it is simply that the polite novel has gone over, if it was ever anywhere else, in toto to the Social Lie. So the young, not yet trapped, aren't interested.

I don't know where anybody got the idea I didn't like certain books because I pointed out their connexions with previous writers. It is true that I do not think a major writer has appeared since the Second War, anywhere in the world. Who does?

KENNETH REXROTH
San Francisco, Calif.

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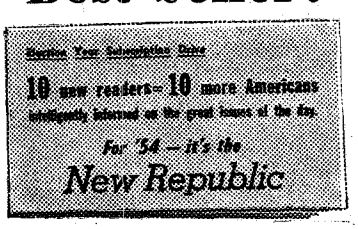

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► A Positive Middle East Policy

Having returned from the Arab States and Israel two months ago, I read with interest the articles by Frank Gorrell and Ray Alan and the remarks of Senator Gillette (*NR*, Feb. 22).

The intransigency of the Arab States and Israel may ultimately force some form of intervention. This distasteful eventuality might be avoided if our policy were clearer and firmer. Just as the failure of the Administration to deal firmly with McCarthy and company encourages their attacks against our liberties, so the Administration's failure to spell out our Middle East policy more definitely, invites adventure from Russia, the Arab States and Israel.

It is undoubtedly true that Franco, with the support of reactionary forces not only in Spain but here, is playing a dubious and dangerous game. It is equally true that there are those in the Arab world who, fearing loss of privilege, power and prestige, use Arab nationalism and hatred of Israel to divert the attention of their impoverished masses from their miserable condition. It is just as true that there are expansionist forces in Israel.

Our desire to prepare a Middle East defense line through arming the Arab States is understandable. *But the arms may be used by the Arabs to start a "second round" against Israel.* And if we start arming the Arabs, expansionist forces in Israel may consider that the moment has come to push on to the Jordan. The temptation to Israel is great for she has a larger, better equipped army than the Arab States. Dispatches indicate strong sentiment in Israel for this procedure. Despite the moderate opinion on both sides—and there is moderate opinion in the Arab States and in Israel—we may wake up some day to find that aggression has been started by one or the other. Renewal of war in the Middle East could conceivably become a world-wide conflagration.

The Administration has proposed a policy of impartiality as between the Arab States and Israel. It has also proposed vast projects of irrigation and land reclamation which will develop the region as a whole. The United Nations is about to send a Commission headed by Dr. Ralph Bunche to study various plans proposed not only by the United States but by the Arab States and Israel.

This is good so far as it goes. But does it go far enough? Discussions will certainly precede any agreement and it will take years to carry out the projects after agreement has been reached by all parties concerned. I am not sure that we have the time for such leisurely procedure because the situation grows more explosive from week to week.

I suggest that *a political solution must precede an economic one;* or that it must be offered contemporaneously with long range economic plans; that it must take into account Arab and Israeli psychology and the legitimate national and cultural ambitions of all the Middle East nations. It must be so just as to recommend itself to reasonable men everywhere.

Such a solution would involve:

(1) a solemn declaration that the old imperialisms are rejected; that the great powers guarantee the independence of the weaker powers, desire to help them develop their resources, achieve economic stability and elevate the living standards of their people:

(2) that the strategic Middle East must and will be defended;

(3) therefore, no breaking of the peace will be tolerated; that the present temporary boundaries shall stand until more reasonable and final frontiers, shall, upon consultation with all parties concerned, be established; that if aggression should occur, there will be quick intervention; that *the Mixed Armistice Commission shall be given not only the authority but the force to prevent border incidents from both sides;*

(4) that Israel must cease its discriminations against its Arab Muslim minorities and grant full, equal, civil, political and religious rights to all its citizens;

(5) that Israel, under the above guarantees, shall grant the principle of repatriation and that immediate steps be taken to absorb 100,000 Arab peasant refugees so badly needed in Israel's agricultural economy;

(6) that immediate efforts be made through an impartial commission on which both the Arab States and Israel shall be represented, to solve the complex problem of compensation, it being taken for granted that property owned by Israeli and now held by Arab nations shall be included in the final settlement;

(7) that the United Nations Resolution on the Internationalization of Jerusalem—the city holy to the three faiths—shall be effected; it being understood that such internationalization need in no way prevent the government of Israel from establishing its capitol there. The small area occupied by government buildings to become Israeli territory;

(8) that simultaneously and in return for concessions made by Israel, the economic boycott of the Arab States be lifted and normal trade relations be established throughout the area, so that the work of reconstruction for the benefit of all may proceed.

Some such *total* approach to the Middle East situation is necessary and and *now*.

MORRIS S. LAZARON

New York City

► The Kefauver Delegation

In his account of the contest between California's Kefauver delegates and the rival "uninstructed" slate in the 1952 Democratic presidential primary ("California Without Warren," *NR*, March 1), Currin Shields has given that issue a great deal more significance than I can find in it.

In the first place, there were actually very few out-and-out progressives on the victorious Kefauver slate, nor was its victory in any sense "a repudiation of the official party leadership by the rank and file." For example, two members of the Kefauver delegation—one of them its organizing secretary and both, in a sense, "professionals"—have this year come out as leaders of a "Democrats for Governor Goodwin J. Knight" faction, and announced their support of the arch-Republican governor long before a Democratic candidate had even been named.

Actually, there was no division at all between party leadership and rank and file in the rivalry of the two 1952 presidential slates. What it came down to was that more people wanted to go to the National Convention than could be accommodated on one delegation. So those who were left off the early-bird Kefauver slate simply got up a slate of their own.

REED JOHNSTON

Los Angeles, Calif.

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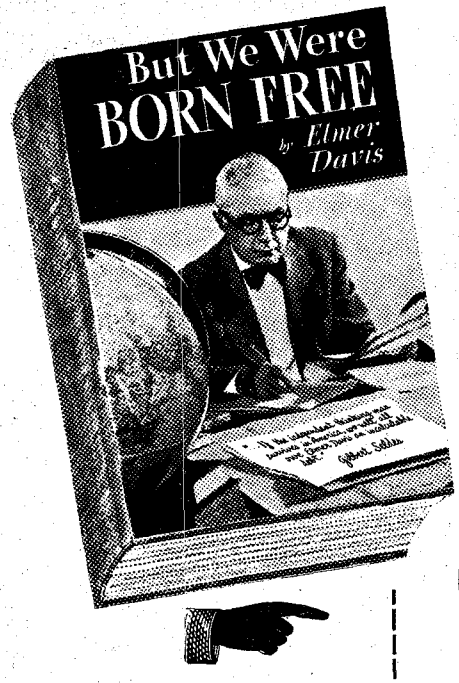

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